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# C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

DE

# CATILINAE CONJURATIONE

# BELLOQUE JUGURTHINO

# HISTORIAE.

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ANIMADVERSIONIBUS ILLUSTRAVIT

CAROLUS ANTHON,

LIT. GRAEC. ET LAT. IN COLL. COL. N. E. PROF. JAIIUS.

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EDITIO QUARTA,
PRIORIBUS LONGE EMENDATIOR.

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*NOVI EBORACI:*

SUMTIBUS G. ET C. ET H. CARVILL.

M DCCC XXXI.

EXCUDIT R. & G. S. WOOD.

*Literarum Formis ab* A. Chandler, *Arte Stereotypa, Fusis et Elaboratis.*

VIRO

PLURIMUM REVERENDO,

PIETATIS, INGENII, DOCTRINAE LAUDIBUS

FLORENTI,

IOANNI HENRICO HOBART, S. T. D.

EPISCOPO

NEO-EBORACENSI

DIGNISSIMO,

QUEM,

IN EXTERAS REGIONES

OB INCOMMODAM VALETUDINEM

PROFECTUM,

DESIDERIIS ICTA FIDELIBUS,

VOTIS PRECIBUSQUE VOCAVIT,

NUNC AUTEM

RENOVATIS VIRIBUS REDUCEM

ANIMO LAETISSIMO SALUTAT

PATRIA,

HOSCE LABORES SUOS

VENERABUNDUS OBTULIT

FAUTOR ATQUE AMICUS.

# LECTURIS

## S. P. D.

## CAROLUS ANTHON.

QUUM fratres Carvilii, optimis de literis optime merentes bibliopolae, Sallustium prelo subjiciendum curarent, manumque meam adjutricem, (parvum sane auxilium,) animo bene volenti conquirerent, Sosiorum amicissimorum studiis liberalissimis quin obsequerer nullus dubitavi. Quamquam aliis igitur negotiis districtus, (nam in poëmata Horatiana, et in res saeculorum praeteritorum geographicas, curam operamque haud mediocriter impendo, Deoque favente ad finem labores meos prope diem perduxero,) Sallustianas historias ea forma donare in animum induxi, quae parva, ha-

bilisque, et tironum usui praecipue inserviens, haud multo aere studiosis empturientibus constaret. Neque ad Sallustium edendum, absit verbo invidia, mihimet ipsi plane hospes accedere videbar. Duo enim anni ferme exacti sunt, cum, parentis sui curis destitutam, (nam e vivis excesserat vir doctissimus,) mea qualicunque opella editionem Wilsonianam adjuvi, atque id officii reddere conatus sum quod et praeceptor et amicus postulavit. Si utilitatis fructum hi praebeant igitur, quibus nunc perfunctus sum laboribus, magnopere gaudebo; votis fruiturus felicissimis si eruditorum quoque demereantur suffragia.

Praeceptoris nomen dulcissimam viri revocavit memoriam. Priusquam igitur rationes operis diligentius expono, perplacet illa addere, quae viri amicissimi, in editionis supra laudatae prooemio, manes expiaturus conscripsi.

—— Praeceptore meo venerabili fatis abrepto, Sallustiique ab illo ornati redemptoribus librariis novam editionem sub prelum missuris,

cura mihi demandata fuit opusculum parente suo orbatum in tutelam meam recipiendi. Non magis officio, quam jucunda beneficiorum memoria adductus sum, ut onus hoc laboris suscipiendum putarem. Nam quum mens mea vitae anteactae spatium, atque ineuntis aevi inscitiam respicere incipiat, hunc video mihi principem et ad ingrediendam et ad prosequendam optimorum studiorum optimam rationem extitisse. Illo facem praeferente, saecula praeterita veterisque ingenii thesauros, fausto pede, auspiciisque secundis, accedere atque intueri semper facillimum; et felices illi quibus nec improba Siren desidia, nec contemptor animus nimiaque de se existimatio fructus uberrimos percipiendi occasionem abstulerint. Naturae tandem concessit vir omni mea laude praestantior, et mortalia linquens in aeterna migravit.—Sed memoria laudesque tuae, optime praeceptorum atque amicûm, nunquam in oblivione jacebunt! Dum pietati honos, dum jucunda humanitas, exercitata atque praeclara disciplina conformatioque doctrinae apud homines no

men venerandum sibi comparant, dum praestantes illae pulcherrimaeque virtutes palma donantur, quae tenebras vitae offusas discutere, atque viam, qua in aeternam patriam ascenditur, clara luce sua faciliorem reddere valebunt, quis erit qui non tui cum charitate et benevolentia recordationem gratissimam usurpet? Altioris doctrinae fundamenta tu felicissime jecisti, fundamenta jacta auctoritate confirmans. Utinam μακαρῖτα! plures tui similes aetas nostra dinumeraret. Utinam in hac terra, ubi inanis jactantiae undique "tympana reboant," levissimaeque multitudinis plausum nugatores nugacissimi accipiunt, exoriatur aliquis, qui veterem eandemque verissimam disciplinae normam popularibus ostendens, scurrarum risu immotus, de opinionum commentis triumphet.——

Haec ego, dictique nec poenitet nec unquam poenitebit.—Manibus viri doctissimi, ut facultas tulit, expiatis, in concinnanda hac editione quid consilii ceperim, aut qua ratione id fuerim exsecutus, lectori dicendum. Textum Cor-

tianum, cui primas deferre solent qui in his versantur literis, plerumque exhibui. In quibuscunque autem locis Cortiana vel legendi vel interpretandi ratio durissima visa est, linguaeque Latinae indoli prorsus aliena, probatiores ex aliis editionibus, Bipontina et Burnoufiana presertim, et lectiones et interpretationes revocavi. Cortius enim, magnus ille vir, quamvis de Sallustio, si quis alius, eximie meritus, nonnunquam attamen corrigendi cacoëthes in se irruere patitur, et oblitus sui, melioraque rejiciens, deteriora laudibus extollit. Nonnunquam, viri clarissimi ductu atque auspiciis, Sallustius ipse, sit venia verbo, parum Latine loquitur. Ubicunque igitur hoc morbo laborantem textum inveni, impenso annisus studio uti ad pristinas vires revocarem, in quibusdam locis vere mihi videor finem exoptatum attigisse, in aliis forsan minus prospera usus fortuna, quippe qui nulla criticorum ope ad sanitatem juventur.

Annotationes copiosissimas addidi, easque ab ima pagina ad calcem voluminis relegandas

curavi, ne, si discipulorum oculis inter prae-lectionem subjicerentur, plus incommodi quam utilitatis afferrent. Historiam, Geographiam, Grammaticam, quicquid est quo studiosus carere non debeat, haud parca manu suppeditavi; minime enim ex illis me unum esse profiteor, quibus visum est in praelectionibus et in juvenibus erudiendis altum de his rebus tenere silentium. Istiusmodi quidem doctores, verbis sonoris, se *mentem* excolere aiunt, notasque exegeticas ad nullam rem utiles existimant. Judicent veritatis fautores castigatoresque turpissimae ignorantiae. Mos quoque apud alios nostratum obtinet, notulis solis, (quamvis immerentes sint parum refert,) laudem et honores abundanter impertiendi, dum scommatibus et contumeliis commentaria uberiora dilacerare nituntur. Sapientissimum sane acuminis critici documentum! Felicissima patria! cui non verendum sit, si hujuscemodi valuerint sententiae, ne doctrinae "pomis" nimium.

—————————— "*exuberet annus,*
*Proventuque oneret sulcos, atque horrea vincat!*"

Haec praemonuisse sufficiat. De typorum concinnitate, totiusque operis forma, judicet qui in his paginis versabitur.

**E Musaeo meo, in Aedibus Academicis.**
**VIII. Kal.Iun. CIↃ IↃ CCC XXIX.**

# C. CRISPI

# SALLUSTII

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

I. [1]Omnis [2]homines, qui [3]sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet vitam [4]silentio ne transeant, veluti pecora, quae natura [5]prona, atque ventri obedientia, finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore [6]sita: [7]animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur: [8]alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. [9]Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, [10]memoriam nostri quam maxume longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis; virtus clara aeternaque [11]habetur. [12]Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an [13]virtute animi, [14]res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius, quam [15]incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque, per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio [16]veget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen [17]imperii id primum fuit) [18]diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: [19]etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate [20]agitabatur; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam

in Asia [1]Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere, [2]lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare; tum demum [3]periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. [4]Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, [5]aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent; neque [6]aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile his [7]artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi [8]pro labore desidia, [9]pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, [10]fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad [11]optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines [12]arant, navigant, aedificant, [13]virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti [14]peregrinantes, transegere; [15]quibus, profecto contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque [16]juxta aestumo, [17]quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque [18]frui anima videtur, [19]qui, aliquo negotio intentus, praeclari facinoris, aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed, [20]in magna copia rerum, [21]aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. PULCHRUM est bene facere reipublicae: etiam [22]bene dicere haud [23]absurdum est. Vel pace, vel bello, clarum fieri licet: [24]et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, [25]tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et [26]auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur [27]res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta [28]dictis sunt exaequanda: dehinc, quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia [29]putant: [30]ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat,

aequo animo accipit; [1]supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, [2]studio ad rempublicam latus sum; [3]ibique mihi advorsa multa fuere. [4]Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, [5]insolens malarum artium; tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab [6]reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, quae ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. IGITUR, ubi animus ex [7]multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium, socordia atque desidia [8]bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, [9]servilibus officiis intentum, aetatem agere: sed, a quo incepto [10]studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani [11]carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, [12]partibus reipublicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissume potero, [13]paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA, [14]nobili genere natus, magna vi et animi et corporis, [15]sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab [16]adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis, grata fuere; [17]ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus [18]patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est: animus audax, subdolus, [19]varius, cujus rei libet [20]simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: [21]satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum. [22]Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia,

nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, [1]post dominationem [2]Lucii Sullae, lubido maxuma invaserat reipublicae capiundae; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, [3]quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum; quae utraque [4]his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, [5]quos pessuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. [6]Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis [7]tempus admonuit, [8]supra repetere, ac, paucis, [9]instituta majorum domi militiaeque; [10]quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint; ut, paullatim immutata, ex pulcherruma, pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta sit, disserere.

VI. URBEM Romam, [11]sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio [12]Trojani, qui, Aenea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his [13]Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, [14]sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, [15]dispari genere, dissimili lingua, [16]alius alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed, postquam [17]res eorum [18]civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur; [19]sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello [20]tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu [21]perculsi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiaeque intenti, [22]festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere: post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis [23]auxilia portabant; magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. Imperium [24]legitimum, [25]nomen imperii regium hu-

bebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum, reipublicae [1]consultabant: hi, [2]vel aetate, vel curae similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod, initio, [3]conservandae libertatis, atque augendae reipublicae fuerat, in superbiam [4]dominationemque [5]convertit; immutato more, [6]annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam [7]insolescere animum humanum.

VII. [8]SED ea tempestate [9]coepere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus [10]boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, [11]adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juventus, [12]simul laboris ac [13]belli patiens erat, in castris [14]per usum militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et [15]militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non [16]labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: [17]virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: [18]sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum [19]tale facinus faceret, properabat: [20]eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, [21]divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis [22]maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes, natura munitas, pugnando ceperit, [23]ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. SED profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea [24]res cunctas, ex lubidine magis quam ex vero, [25]celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego [26]aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia

provenere ibi [1]scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis [2]eam potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam [3]ea copia fuit: quia [4]prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxume erat; [5]ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; [6]optumus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis [7]benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. [8]IGITUR domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; [9]jus bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quam natura, valebat. [10]Jurgia, discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in [11]suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, [12]in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, [13]ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, [14]seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo; [15]quod saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, bello excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis, [16]quam metu, imperium [17]agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. SED, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, [18]reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae, et [19]populi ingentes vi subacti, [20]Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant; saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiae [21]optandae aliis, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit: [22]ea qua-

si [1]materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque [2]artis bonas subvertit; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos [3]neglegere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortalis [4]falsos fieri subegit; [5]aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non [6]ex re, sed ex commodo, aestumare; [7]magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari: [8]post, ubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata; imperium, ex justissumo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. SED primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius [9]virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, [10]bonus, ignavus, aeque sibi exoptant: sed ille [11]vera via nititur; huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae [12]studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi [13]venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis, [14]neque copia, neque inopia, minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis [15]recepta republica, [16]ex bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; [17]rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere; [18]neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque [19]in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, [20]quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca [21]amoena, voluptaria, facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani [22]amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea [23]privatim ac publice rapere; [24]delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi mili-

tes, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos [1]fatigant: [2]ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriae temperarent.

XII. [3]POSTQUAM divitiae honori coepere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, [4]innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur, ex divitiis, juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia, invasere: [5]rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; [6]pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissumi mortales, fecere. [7]Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos [8]sua gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam, [9]praeter injuriae licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri [10]victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. NAM quid ea memorem, quae, nisi iis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria [11]constructa esse: quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per [12]turpidinem properabant. Sed lubido ganeae, ceterique [13]cultus, non minor incesserat: [14]vescendi caussa, terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia [15]luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile [16]lubidinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. [1]IN tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium [2]flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, [3]quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; praeterea, omnes, undique parricidae, sacrilegi, [4]convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, [5]quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinae [6]proxumi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus [7]inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile [8]par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxume adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et [9]aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumptui, neque [10]modestiae suae parcere, dum illos [11]obnoxios fidosque faceret.

XV. JAM primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat; cum [12]virgine nobili, cum [13]sacerdote Vestae, alia hujuscemodi contra [14]jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore [15]Aureliae Orestillae, cujus, praeter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit; quod ea [16]nubere illi dubitabat, timens [17]privignum adulta aetate; pro certo creditur, [18]necato filio, [19]vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, [20]dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; [21]ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur [22]colos exsanguis, [23]foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in [24]facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. [1]SED juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos [2]commodare; [3]fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, [4]ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si caussa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat; nihilo minus [5]insontes, sicuti sontes, [6]circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent [7]manus aut animus, [8]gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul [9]quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, [10]rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum [11]exoptabant; [12]opprimundae reipublicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis [13]terris bellum gerebat: ipsi [14]consulatum petundi magna spes: [15] senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

XVII. IGITUR circiter [16]Kalendas Junias, [17]L. Caesare et [18]C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos adpellare: hortari alios, [19]alios tentare: opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, [20]quibus maxuma necessitudo, et plurimum audaciae. Eo convenere, [21]senatorii ordinis, [22]P. Lentulus Sura, [23]P. Autronius, [24]L. Cassius Longinus, [25]C, Cethegus, [26]P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, [27]L. Vargunteius, [28]Q. Annius, [29]M. Porcius Laeca, [30]L. Bestia, [31]Q. Curius: praeterea ex equestri ordine, [32]M. Fulvius Nobilior, [33]L. Statilius, [34]P. Gabinius Capito, [35]C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex [36]coloniis et municipiis, [37]domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes [38]nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel

magnifice, vel molliter vivere [1]copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent [2]M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. SED [3]antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina; de [4]qua, quam verissume potero, dicam. [5]L. Tullo, [6]M. Lepido consulibus, [7]P. Autronius et P. Sulla, [8]legibus ambitus interrogati, [9]poenas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, [10]pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, [11]quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore [12]Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc, Catilina et [13]Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant in [14]Capitolio, [15]Kalendis Januariis, [16]L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; [17]ipsi, [18]fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas [19]Hispanias mittere. [20]Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis [21] transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. [22]Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die, [23] post conditam urbem Romanam, pessumum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res [24]consilium diremit.

XIX. POSTEA PISO in citeriorem Hispaniam [25]quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum [26]infestum inimicum [27]Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe foedum hominem a republica procul [28]esse volebat: simul, quia

boni [1]quam plures praesidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, [2]in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. [3]Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, [4]Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem [5]adgressos; numquam Hispanos [6]praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. CATILINA ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen [8]in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem [9]aedium [10]secedit; atque ibi, omnibus [11]arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque vestra [12]spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, [13]dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent: [14]neque ego per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis et magnis [15]tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus [16]ausus maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus [17]incipere: simul, quia vobis [18]eadem, quae mihi, bona malaque intellexi; [19]nam idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea [20]diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae conditio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum jus atque ditionem [21]concessit, semper illis reges, [22]tetrarchae [23]vectigales esse; [24]populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, [25]nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, [26]his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gra

tia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: [1]repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissumi viri? Nonne [2]emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? [3]Verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria nobis in manu: [4]viget aetas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est: [5]cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? [6]illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis [7]larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, [8]toreumata emunt; [9]nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam [10]trahunt, vexant: tamen [11]summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris aes alienum; [12]mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis, quam oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum consul agam; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire, quam imperare, parati estis."

XXI. POSTQUAM accepere ea homines, [13]quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen etsi illis [14]quieta movere, magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, [15]quae conditio belli foret; quae praemia armis peterent; [16]quid ubi-

que opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri [1]tabulas novas, [2]proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae [3]bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania [4]citeriore Pisonem, in [5]Mauritania cum exercitu [6]P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum [7]C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et [8] omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: [9]eo consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, [10]maledictis increpat omnis bonos: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: [11]admonebat alium egestatis, alium [12]cupiditatis suae, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus, ut [13]petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. FUERE ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, [14]humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; [15]inde cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, [16]atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, [17]alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta haec, multa praeterea, existumabant, ab iis, qui [18]Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res [19]pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. SED in ea [20]conventione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, [21]flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu, probri gratia, [22]amoverant. Huic homini non minor [23]vanitas, quam audacia: neque reticere, quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare: [24]prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quidquam pensi ha-

bebat. Erat ei cum [1]Fulvia, muliere nobili, [2]vetus consuetudo: cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia [3]minus largiri poterat, repente glorians [4]maria montesque polliceri coepit; minari interdum ferro, nisi [5]obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, [6]insolentiae Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit; sed, [7]sublato auctore, de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res imprimis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum [8]M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea [9]pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum [10]credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, [11]homo novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia [12]postfuere.

XXIV. IGITUR, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo [13]popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur: sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide [14]sumtam mutuam, [15]Faesulas ad [16]Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea [17]princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines [18]adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, [19]quae, ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui, neque luxuriae, modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebat posse [20]servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. SED in his erat [21]Sempronia, quae multa saepe [22]virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea [23]viro, liberis satis fortunata; litteris Graecis atque Latinis docta; [24]psallere, saltare [25]elegantius, quam necesse est probae; multa alia, quae [26]in-

strumenta luxuriae. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile [1]decerneres. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, [2]creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. [3]Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multae [4]facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proxumum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si [5]designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum [6]dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa [7]pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium [8]pactione provinciae perpulerat, [9]ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque [10]clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies [11]comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petitio, neque insidiae quas [12]consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte tentaverat, [13]aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVII. IGITUR C. Manlium [14]Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quemdam, [15]Camertem, in [16]agrum Picenum, [17]C. Julium in [18]Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, [19]quem ubique opportunum credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus [20]obsidere: ipse [21]cum telo esse, item alios [22]jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque [23]festinare,

vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus [1]intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per [2]M. Porcium Laecam: ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet, "se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum [3]obficere."

XXVIII. IGITUR, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, [4]C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere [5]ea nocte paullo post, cum armatis hominibus, [6]sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi [7]intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam, dolum qui parabatur enunciat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriae, novarum rerum cupidam, quod, Sullae dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea [8]latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex [9]Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. EA cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, [10]ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis [11]privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, [12]rem ad senatum refert, jam antea [13]volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque [14]in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. [15]Ea potestas per senatum, more

Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiaeque [1]imperium atque judicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. POST paucos dies L. Saenius, senator, in senatu litteras [2]recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, [3]ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus [4]fieri, arma portari, [5]Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur, [6]senati decreto, [7]Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, [8]Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam [9]circumque loca, missi: ii utrique [10]ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, [11]calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. [12]Sed praetores, [13]Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, [14]Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; iisque [15]permissum, "uti [16]pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et [17]sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta;" [18]itemque, "uti [19]gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur, pro cujusque opibus; Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque [20]minores magistratus praeessent."

XXXI. QUIBUS rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies: ex summa laetitia atque [21]lascivia, quae [22]diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres,

quibus, reipublicae magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, [1]adflictare sese; manus supplices ad coelum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; [2]rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, [3]tamen etsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse [4]lege Plautia interrogatus ab [5]L. Paullo. [6]Postremo, dissimulandi caussa, atque sui expurgandi, sicuti [7]jurgio lacessitus foret, [8]in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive [9]praesentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, [10]orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicae; [11]quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille [12]adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut [13]omnia bona in spe haberet: ne aestumarent, sibi patricio homini, [14]cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, [15]inquilinus civis urbis Romae." Ad hoc maledictia alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque [16]parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis praeceps agor, [17]incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. DEIN se ex curia domum proripuit; ibi multa secum ipse volvens; quod neque [18]insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, [19]optumum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac prius, quam [20]legiones scriberentur, antecapere quae bello usui forent; [21]nocte intempesta [22]cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promtam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora

parent: sese [1]prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius [2]ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, [3]cum mandatis hujuscemodi:

XXXIII. "DEOS hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum [4]homini faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate foeneratorum, [5]plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis, expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, [6]lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, [7]liberum corpus habere; tanta saevitia foeneratorum atque [8]praetoris fuit. Saepe [9]majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis [10]inopiae opitulati sunt: ac novissume, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, [11]argentum aere solutum est. Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus [12]secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt: sed libertatem, quam [13]nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, [14]amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus; legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis: neve eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus, [15]quonam modo ulti maxume sanguinem nostrum pereamus."

XXXIV. AD haec Q. [16]Marcius: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea [17]optumo cuique, litteras mittit: "se falsis criminibus circumventum,

quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, [1]Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non [2]quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius; sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve [3]ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu [4]recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat: [5]earum exemplum infra scriptum.

XXXV. "L. CATILINA Q. Catulo [6]S. [7]Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. [8]Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, [9]quam, [10]me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, [11]fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus, [12]statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin aes alienum [13]meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae, suis filiaeque copiis, persolveret: sed quod [14]non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque [15]falsa suspicione alienatum sentiebam. [16]Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuaeque fidei trado: [17]eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. [18]Haveto."

XXXVI. SED ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam [19]in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, [20]cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam [21]sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, [22]praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis." Praeterea decernit, "uti

consules [1]dilectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi praesidio sit." Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume miserabile visum: cui cum, ad occasum ab ortu solis, omnia domita armis [2]paterent; domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, [3]duobis senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: [4]tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. NEQUE solum illis [5]aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinae incepta probabat. Id [6]adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, [7]quis opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; [8]turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana [9]plebes, ea vero praeceps ierat multis de caussis. [10]Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant; item alii [11]per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; ii Romam, [12]sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod, ex [13]gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti [14]regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, [15]si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Praeterea, juventus, quae in agris, manuum mercede, inopiam toleraverat, [16]privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerant. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus miran

dum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, [1]reipublicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea, quorum, victoria Sullae, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, [2]jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque [3]aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. [4]Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. NAM, postquam, Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus, [5]tribunicia potestas restituta; homines adolescentes, [[6]summam potestatem nacti,] [7]quibus aetas animusque ferox, coepere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein, largiundo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, [8]senati specie, pro sua magnitudine. [9]Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, [10]honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant: [11]neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. SED, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum [12]maritimum atque [13]Mithridaticum missus; [14]plebis opes imminutae; paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi [15]innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere; [16]ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu [17]placidius tractarent. Sed, [18]ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, [19]vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quod si primo praelio Catilina superior, aut [20]aequa manu discessisset, profecto [21]magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et [22]exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium

atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen [1]extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his [2]A. Fulvius, senatoris filius; quem, retractum ex itinere, [3]parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusquemodi genus hominum, [4]quod modo [bello] usui foret.

XL. IGITUR P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos [5]Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans, publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea, quod natura [6]gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia [7]negotiatus, plerisque [8]principibus notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, [9]percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos [10]videt "queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "at ego," inquit, "vobis, [11]si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile, [12]quin cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum [13]D. Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus [14]ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, [15]quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo praesente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis [16]innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; dein eos pollicitos operam suam dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae : at in altera [1]majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe, certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus [2]patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam [3]consilio cognito, legatis praecipit, studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, [4]bene polliceantur ; dentque operam, uti eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

XLII. Isdem fere temporibus in [5]Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, [6]Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam [7]cuncta simul agere: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, [8]festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numerò complures Q. Metellus Celer praetor, ex senati consulto, caussa cognita, in vincula conjecerat ; item in ulteriore Gallia [9]C. Murena, qui ei provinciae [10]legatus praeerat.

XLIII. At Romae Lentulus, cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut [11]videbantur, magnis copiis, [12]constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de [13]actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissumi [14]invidiam optumo consuli imponeret ; eo signo, [15]proxuma nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea [16]divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu [17]duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam [18]obsideret,

eum vi adgrederetur, [1]alius autem alium: sed [2]filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars, parentes interficerent; simul, caede et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec [3]parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et [4]dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus, maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. SED Allobroges, ex praecepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros [5]conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant [6]jusjurandum, quod [7]signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. [8]Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus [cum his] T. Volturcium quemdam, [9]Crotoniensem, mittit, uti Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum: "Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. [10]Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum; consideres, quid tuae [11]rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, [12]etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc, [13]mandata verbis dat: "cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quae jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, [14]L. Valerio Flacco et [15]C. Pomtino, praetoribus, imperat, uti in ponte [16]Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum [17]comitatus deprehendant: rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur:

[1]cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. [2]Homines militares, sine tumultu [3]praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est; Galli, [4]cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, [5]multa prius de salute sua Pomtinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitae diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese praetoribus dedit.

XLVI. [6]QUIBUS rebus confectis, ómnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam [7]laetabatur, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus; poenam illorum [8]sibi oneri, impunitatem [9]perdundae reipublicae credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Coeparium quemdam, [10]Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Coeparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, [11]ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens [12]perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in aedem [13]Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, [14]magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis, [15]Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum praetorem [16]scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. VOLTURCIUS interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremo [17]quid, aut qua de caussa, consilii habuisset?" primo fingere [18]alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi [19]fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: "paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Coepario

socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire, quam legatos: tantummodo [1]audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, praeter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus: "ex [2]libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romae [3]tribus Corneliis portendi: [4]Cinnam atque Sullam antea; se tertium, cui fatum foret [5]urbis potiri: praeterea ab [6]incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis [7]haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur, perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, "uti [8]abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in [9]liberis custodiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus [10]P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum [11]aedilis, Cethegus [12]Q. Cornificio, Statilius [13]C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Coeparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus) [14]Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. INTEREA plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinae consilia exsecrari, [15]Ciceronem ad coelum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque laetitiam agitabant. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis, quam [16]detrimento; [17]incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat; [18]quippe cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a consule, quae sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: praeterea, "se missum a M. Crasso, [19]qui Catilinae nunciaret, [20]ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex

conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum [1]animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia; [2]alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existumabant, tamen, [3]quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis leniunda, quam exagitanda videbatur; plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis [4]obnoxii, conclamant, "indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant [5]uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in [6]vinculis retinendum, neque amplius [7]potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem [8]mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore, qui aestumarent, illud a P. Autronio machinatum, [9]quo facilius, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone [10]immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, [11]more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea [12]praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone [13]impositam.

XLIX. SED isdem temporibus [14]Q. Catulus et [15]C. Piso, neque gratia, neque precibus, neque [16]pretio, Ciceronem impellere [17]potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Caesar falso [18]nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso [19]obpugnatus in judicio repetundarum, propter cujusdam [20]Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus [21]ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod, extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab [22]adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem [23]opportuna videbatur; quod privatim egregia liberalitate, [24]publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed, ubi consulem ad tantum facinus im-

socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire, quam lega[illegible] tummodo [1]audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autroni[illegible] vium Sullam, L. Varguntieium, multos praeterea in[illegible] juratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lent[illegible] simulantem coarguunt, praeter litteras, sermonib[illegible] habere solitus: "ex [2]libris Sibyllinis, regnum[illegible] [3]tribus Corneliis portendi: [4]Cinnam atque Sullam[illegible] se tertium, cui fatum foret [5]urbis potiri: pra[illegible] [6]incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annu[illegible] saepe ex prodigiis [7]haruspices respondissent [illegible] cruentum fore." Igitur, perlectis litteris, cum [illegible] nes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decern[illegible] dicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in [illegible] todiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus [10]P. Len[illegible] ri, qui tum [11]aedilis, Cethegus [12]Q. Cornifici[illegible] Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Coepariu[illegible] ante ex fuga retractus) [14]Cn. Terentio [illegible]

XLVIII. INTEREA plebes, conjurati[illegible] primo, cupida rerum novarum, nim[illegible] ta mente, Catilinae consilia ex[illegible] lum tollere: veluti ex servitu[illegible] laetitiam agitabant. Nam[illegible] magis, quam [16]detrimen[illegible] moderatum, ac sibi [illegible] pe cui omnes cop[illegible]

[redacted] nt; neque quisquam omnium [1]lubidi-
[redacted] aruit. [2]Ubi intenderis ingenium, va-
[redacted] t, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet.
[redacted] memorandi, P. C. qui reges [3]atque
[redacted] ricordia impulsi, male consuluerint: quae majores nostri, [4]contra lubi- atque ordine fecere. [5]Bello Mace- rege Perse gessimus, [6]Rhodiorum civi- magnifica, quae populi Romani [7]opibus atque advorsa nobis fuit: sed postquam, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nos- tiarum magis, quam injuriae caussa, bel- diceret, [8]impunitos dimisere. Item bellis bus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace, et multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam occasionem talia fecere: magis, quid se dignum m quid [11]in illis jure fieri posset, quaerebant. providendum est, Patres conscripti, [12]ne plus vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam ves- neu magis irae, quam famae, consulatis. igna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, [13]novum n adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris [14]omnium in- exsuperat, [15]iis utendum censeo, quae legibus com- a sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias erunt, [16]composite atque magnifice [17]casum reipublicae ati sunt: quae belli saevitia, quae victis acciderent, avere; divelli liberos a parentium complexu; ma- iarum pati, quae victoribus collibuissent; fana omos exspoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postre- armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia com- ri. Sed, per deos immortalis! [18]quo illa oratio perti- it? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet em res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum ora-

pellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque [1]ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque eo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui, praesidii caussa, cum telis erant circum [2]Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine, seu [3]animi nobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu [4]Caesari gladio [5]minitarentur.

L. DUM haec in senatu [6]aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur; [7]liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in [8]vicis ad eum [9]eripiendum sollicitabant, [10]partim exquirebant [11]duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti; Cethegus autem, per nuncios, [12]familiam atque libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, [13]grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, [14]refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT. [15]Sed eos, paullo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. [16]Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore [17]consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, [18]pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, praesidiis additis, referundum censuerat. [19]Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "[20]OMNIS homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, [21]ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum pro-

videt, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium [1]lubidini simul et usui paruit. [2]Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, P. C. qui reges [3]atque populi, ira aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quae majores nostri, [4]contra lubidinem animi, recte atque ordine fecere. [5]Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, [6]Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani [7]opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriae caussa, bellum inceptum diceret, [8]impunitos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace, et [9]per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi [10]per occasionem talia fecere: magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid [11]in illis jure fieri posset, quaerebant. Hoc idem providendum est, Patres conscripti, [12]ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis irae, quam famae, consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, [13]novum consilium adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris [14]omnium ingenia exsuperat, [15]iis utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, [16]composite atque magnifice [17]casum reipublicae miserati sunt: quae belli saevitia, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere; divelli liberos a parentium complexu; matres familiarum pati, quae victoribus collibuissent; fana atque domos exspoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis! [18]quo illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum ora-

tio accendet! Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed [1]aliis alia licentia, Patres conscripti. [2]Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna pares sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. [3]Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est: neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet: quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic [4]aestumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse: sed plerique mortales [5]postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum virum [6]fortem atque strenuum, certe scio, quae dixerit, [7]studio reipublicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere; [8]eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? sed [9]aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus, aut [10]injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum, [11]praesenti diligentia clarissumi viri, consulis, [12]tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; [13]ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an, quia [14]lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quam necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave

nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos? sin, quia levius; [1]qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris? [2]At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit? [3]Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quidquid evenerit: ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid [4]in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex [5]bonis orta sunt; sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud [exemplum] [6]ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii, [7]devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: [8]ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos [9]lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla cum [10]Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam, uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremo aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur: neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. [11]Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor: sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest, alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manus, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores

nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciae umquam eguere: neque superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba, imitarentur. [1]Arma atque tela militaria ab [2]Samnitibus, [3]insignia magistratuum ab [4]Tuscis pleraque sumserunt: postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: [5]imitari, quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed, eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus [6]animadvertebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri coepere; tum lex Porcia aliaeque paratae, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum. [7]Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. [8]Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea [9]bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minume: sed ita [10]censeo; [11]publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos [12]per municipia quae maxume opibus valent; [13]neu quis de is postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

LII. POSTQUAM Caesar dicendi finem fecit, [14]ceteri verbo, alius alii, varie adsentiebantur: at [15]M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. [16]"Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. [17]Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, [18]aris atque focis suis, bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, [19]quam,

quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam [1]cetera tum [2]persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra [3]judicia implores; capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis! vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, [4]tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quae [5]amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere voltis; expergiscimini aliquando, et [6]capessite rempublicam. [7]Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Saepenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba [8]in hoc ordine feci; saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea caussa advorsos habeo; [9]qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma; [10]opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, [11]bonis an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani: [12]sed, cujus haec cumque modi, nostra, an nobiscum una, hostium futura sint. [13]Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos [14]vera rerum vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: [15]eo respublica in extremo sita. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes [16]in furibus aerarii: [17]ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. [18]Bene et composite C. Caesar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, falsa, credo, existumans, quae de inferis memorantur; [19]diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa [20]habere. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS

EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; [1]videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut [2]a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. [3]Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. [4]Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces [5]aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros [6]armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus: [7]quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quam illis. [8]Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, [9]quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, [10]animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; [11]publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia [12]virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae, aut gratiae servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in [13]vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt: dux hostium [14]supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid infra moenia [15]adprehensis hostibus faciatis? [16]Misereamini censeo; deliquere homines

adolescentuli, per ambitionem ; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. [1]Ne, ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. [2]Scilicet res aspera est ; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume ; sed inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis saepe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque [3]suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur : vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo [4]prospera omnia [5] cedunt : ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores ; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros, T. Manlius Torquatus [6]bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit ; atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte [7]poenas dedit : [8]vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini ? [9]Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit : ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, [10]nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Coepario loquar ? quibus [11]si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis ; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu [12]faucibus urget : alii intra moenia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes : [13]neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest : quo magis properandum. Quare ita ego censeo : cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum, convicti confessique sint, caedem, incendia, alia foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse ; de

confessis, sicuti de [1]manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. POSTQUAM Cato adsedit, consulares omnes, itemque senatus magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, [2]virtutem animi ad coelum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato magnus atque clarus habetur; senati decretum fit, [3]sicuti ille censuerat. [4]Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus, domi militiaeque, mari atque terra, praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, [5]quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa [6]agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, [7]veluti effoeta parente, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, [8]ingenti virtute, divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Caesar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, [9]silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. IGITUR his [10]genus, [11]aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item [12]gloria; sed [13]alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: [14]huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, [15]ignoscendo; Cato [16]nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium;

in altero malis pernicies: [1]illius facilitas; hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo, Caesar [2]in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. [3]At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxume severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque [4]factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente [5]abstinentia certabat: [6]esse, quam videri, bonus malebat: ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. POSTQUAM, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul [7]optumum factum ratus, noctem, quae instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, [8]triumviros, quae supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis praesidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est [9]locus in carcere, quod [10]Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulum [11]escenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper [12]camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed [13]incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, [14]quibus praeceptum erat, [15]laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissuma gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Coepario, eodem modo supplicium sumtum.

LVI. DUM ea Romae geruntur, Catilina [16]ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, [17]duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venit, aequaliter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones [18]numero

hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, [1]sparos, aut lanceas, alii [2]praeacutas sudes portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, ad urbem modo, modo [3]in Galliam versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem [4]sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, [5]cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul [6]alienum suis rationibus existumans videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. SED, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, Cethego, ceteris, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumtum; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos, magnis itineribus, [7]in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte [8]perfugerent in [9]Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, [10]ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movet, ac [11]sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti.] Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; [12]utpote qui magno exercitu, locis aequioribus [13]expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt [14]montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae, neque [15]praesidii ullam spem; optumum factum ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum confligere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. "COMPERTUM ego habeo, milites, [1]verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum, oratione imperatoris, fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura, aut [2]moribus, inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula, excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti caussam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; [3]quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc [4]quo in loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, [5]unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant: diutius in his locis esse, [6]si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti [7]forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum praelium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, commeatus abunde, coloniae atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fiunt: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; [8]illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summa turpitudine, in exilio aetatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romae, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa foeda atque intoleranda [9]viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si [10]relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo, nisi victor, [11]pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, [12]cum arma, [13]quis corpus

tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, [1]ea vero dementia est. Semper in praelio maxumum est periculum, [2]qui maxume timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra hortantur; praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete, [3]inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam, virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. HAEC ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque [4]instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exaequato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse [5]pedes exercitum, [6]pro loco atque copiis, instruit. [7]Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et, ab dextra, rupes aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit: [8]reliqua signa in subsidio artius collocat. [9]Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et [10]evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, [11]Faesulanum quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum [12]libertis et colonis [13]propter aquilam adsistit, quam, bello [14]Cimbrico, C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, [15]pedibus aeger, quod praelio adesse nequibat, [16]M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas [17]tumulti caussa conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. [18]Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones [19]inermos, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, [20]cernere. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta [21]tribunus, aut [22]praefec-

tus, aut legatus, aut praetor cum magna gloria fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. SED ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius [1]tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum, unde a [2]ferentariis praelium committi posset, maxumo clamore [3]cum infestis signis concurrunt; [4]pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. [5]Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare: [6]illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. [7]Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis [8]arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, [9]contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, [10]cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit; eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus [11]in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae dignitatis, [12]in confertissumos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. SED, confecto praelio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque [13]pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, [14]quos cohors praetoria disjecerat, [15]paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen [16]adversis volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in praelio, neque in fuga, quisquam [17]civis ingenuus

captus. [1]Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus: nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in praelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visundi, aut spoliandi gratia, processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant: fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum [2]laetitia, moeror; luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

# C. CRISPI
# SALLUSTII
## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

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# SALLUSTII

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

I. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod, [1]imbecilla atque aevi brevis, [2]forte potius, quam virtute regatur. Nam contra, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque praestabilius invenias; magisque naturae industriam hominum, [3]quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde [4]pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunae eget; [5]quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere potest. [6]Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis pessum datus est; [7]perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur: [8]suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. [9]Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa, petunt; neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, [10]ubi, pro mortalibus, gloria aeterni fierent.

II. Nam, uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctae, studiaque omnia nostra, corpo-

ris alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur [1]praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at [2]ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. [3]Postremo, corporis et fortunae bonorum, ut initium, finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, [4]aeternus, rector humani generis, [5]agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. [6]Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, [7]incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; cum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint [8]artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. VERUM [9]ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo [10]omnis cura rerum publicarum, minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, [11]quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut [12]parentes, quamquam et possis, et [13]delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; cum praesertim [14]omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud [15]fatigando, nisi odium, quaerere, extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam [16]gratificari.

IV. CETERUM, ex aliis negotiis [17]quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est [18]memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de [19]virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto; simul, ne, [20]per insolentiam, quis existumet, memet, [21]studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a republica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; [22]certe, quibus

maxuma industria videtur, [1]salutare plebem, et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego [2]temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existumabunt, me magis [3]merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicae venturum. Nam saepe audivi, [4]Q. Maxumum, [5]P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM [6]IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSUME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI. [7]Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed, memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus [8]eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra, quis est omnium [9]his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines [10]novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et [11]per latrocinia potius [quam bonis artibus] ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi, per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint, ac non [12]perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui sustinent virtus est. Verum ego [13]liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum [14]redeo.

V. BELLUM scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege [15]Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox, [16]variaque victoria fuit: dein, quia tum primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio [17]divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiae processit, uti [18]studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei

initium expedio, [1]pauca supra repetam; [2]quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, [3]post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiae opes maxume adtriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, [4]in amicitia receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quae, victis Carthaginiensibus, et capto [5]Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, [6]regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: [7]imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa, fratribus, morbo [8]absumtis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem [9]cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. QUI ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se [10]luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare: et, [11]cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras [12]primus, aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere, minumum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore; tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, [13]exacta sua aetate, parvis liberis, [14]magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat natura mortalium, avida [15]imperii, et [16]praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: [17]praeterea opportunitas suaeque et liberorum

aetatis quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit: ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum [1]popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello [2]Numantino, Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel [3]ostentando virtutem, vel hostium [4]saevitia, facile occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat [5]impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator, et [6]morem hostium cognovit; multo labore, multaque cura, praeterea modestissume parendo, et saepe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et praelio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem [7]adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere [8]res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, [9]magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, et [10]ingenii sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. EA tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures, novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque [11]potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, [12]apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthae [13]non mediocrem an-

imum pollicitando accendebant, SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIAE POTIRETUR : IN IPSO MAXUMAM VIRTUTEM, ROMAE OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse [1]revorti domum decrevit ; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in [2]praetorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit, " uti potius [3]publice, quam privatim amicitiam populi R. coleret ; neu [4]quibus largiri insuesceret : periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset : si permanere vellet in suis [5]artibus, [6]ultro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum ; sin [7]properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum."

IX. SIC locutus, cum litteris, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit : earum sententia haec erat. " Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit ; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse : nobis ob merita carus est ; uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem [8]pro nostra amicitia gratulor : en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissa." [9]Igitur rex, ubi, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, [10]cum virtute viri, tum gratia permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est ; statimque adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque aetate confectus, cum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba [11]cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. " PARVUM ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, [12]in meum regnum accepi ; existumans non minus me tibi quam [13]liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore : neque ea res [14]falsum habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia [15]tua omittam, novissume, rediens Numantia,

meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti: tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti: in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum: postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitae finem facit, per hanc dextram, [1]per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. [2]Non exercitus, neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: [3]officio et fide pariuntur. [4]Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae [5]dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos [6]sumsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. AD ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem [7]ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis [8]diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, [9]justa magnifice fecerant, [10]reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis, natura ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthae [quia materno genere impar erat] despiciens, [11]dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod [12]apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti aetati concederet, [13]fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram

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transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res [1]jacit: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI; NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. Tum IDEM, Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit; NAM [2]IPSUM ILLUM TRIBUS HIS PROXUMIS [ANNIS] ADOPTATIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae [3]altius, quam quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, [4]ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi [5]tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. PRIMO conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, [6]propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. [7]Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, [8]proxumus lictor Jugurthae, carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, [9]uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum [10]clavis adulterinas paret; nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedis irrupere, [11]diversi regem quaerere: dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: [12]strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio [13]mulieris ancillae, quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. CETERUM fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur: Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit: in duas [1]partis discedunt: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed [2]illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat; urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tamen etsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex praelio profugit in [3]provinciam, ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum [4]Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam [5]mittit, quis praecepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos adquirant; postremo, [6]quemcumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex praecepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, [7]magna munera misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxuma [8]invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; [9]quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, [10]ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "PATRES conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus, moriens, praecepit, uti regnum Numidiae tantummodo [11]procuratione existumarem meum; ceterum [12]jus et imperium penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam

maxumo usui esse populo Romano: vos mihi [1]cognatorum vos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni [2]habere. Quae cum [praecepta parentis mei] agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contemto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem, [3]et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum [4]populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere; [5]ac maxume deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; [6]secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas, [7]neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrumum, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit; [8]quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussae haberem, praeter miserandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc [9]deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto; [10]tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta sunt, Patres conscripti: [11]vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti, is

potissumum stirpis tuae extinctor sit? [1]Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses [2]incolumes fuere, [3]jure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa [4]pestis ejecta, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe quis hostis nullus, nisi forte quem jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia [5]sese ecferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit: post, ubi me isdem dolis nequit capere, [6]nihil minus, quam vim, aut bellum exspectantem, [7]in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, [8]extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum: qui vestram [9]amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxume tutos esse. [10]Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus, [11]alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissumum infelix accedam? [12]Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, [13]naturae concessit: fratri, [14]quem minume decuit, propinquus, per scelus vitam eripuit: adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: [15]capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti; pauci, quibus relicta anima, clausi in tenebris, cum moerore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex [16]necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex [17]improviso accidisset,

vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnis curae esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus, et omnium [1]honestarum rerum egens, [2]quo accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae [3]ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam adire licet, ubi non [4]majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima? [5]aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, [6]una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia [7]secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud [8]vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae, parum cognita, transvorsos agat: quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa statuatis: [9]fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. [10]Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore, in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur: [11]ne, ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddet. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissume! quamquam immaturo, et unde minume decuit, vita erepta est; tamen laetandum magis, quam dolendum puto casum tuum; [12]non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnis has, quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus [13]ex patrio reg-

no, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, [1]an regno consulam, [2]cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam [3]emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, [4]neu jure contemtus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriae concessissem. Nunc [5]neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per [6]liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi R. subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

XV. POSTQUAM rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae largitione magis, quam caussa freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praeterea magna pars, gratia [7]depravati, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; [8]gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis [9]carius, [10]subveniundum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant: sed ex omnibus maxume [11]Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem [12]famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne [13]polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. VICIT tamen in senatu pars illa, [1]qui vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant. Decretum fit, UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT : cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens ; quia consul, [2]C. Gracco et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrume [3]victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in amicis habuerat, tamen [4]adcuratissume recepit ; dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti [5]fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit ; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numidiae [6]Mauretaniam adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthae traditur : illam alteram specie, quam usu, potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. RES postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere, et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, [7]minus frequentata sunt, [8]de is haud facile compertum narraverim : cetera quam paucissumis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique [9]in partem tertiam Africam posuere : [10]pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse ; sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet, ab occidente [11]fretum nostri maris et oceani ; ab ortu solis, [12]declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae adpellant. [13]Mare saevum, importuosum : ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus : [14]coelo, terra, penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum : plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut [15]bestiis interiere : nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, [16]malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui

mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint; [1]quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissumis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. AFRICAM initio habuere [2]Gaetuli et [3]Libyes, asperi, inculti; quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. [4]Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, [5]qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania [6]Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi [7]quique, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero [8]Medi, [9]Persae et [10]Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proxumos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae [11]intra oceanum magis: iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gaetulos [12]miscuere: et, quia saepe [13]tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi [14]Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gaetuli [15]sub sole magis, haud procul [16]ab ardoribus) [17]hique mature oppida habuere; nam, [18]freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persa-

rum brevi adolevit: [1]ac postéa nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quae proxume Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitumos armis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processérant: quia [2]Libyes, quam Gaetuli, minus bellicosi: denique Africae pars [3]inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium [4]concessere.

XIX. POSTEA Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, [5]Hipponem, [6]Hadrumetum, [7]Leptim, aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere: haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus praesidio, aliae decori fuere: nam de [8]Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur [9]ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, [10]secundo mari, prima [11]Cyrene est, colonia [12]Thereôn, ac deinceps duae [13]Syrtes, interque eas [14]Leptis: dein [15]Philenôn arae, [16]quem, Aegyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: [17]post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent: proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt: [18]super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos [19]Aethiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque [20]ex Punicis oppida, et finis Carthaginiensium, quos [21]novissume habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gaetulorum magna pars et [22]Numidia usque ad flumen [23]Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen, [24]cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. POSTQUAM, regno diviso, legati Africa discessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi [1]praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis [2]animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, [3]quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, [4]opportunus injuriae, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso, finis ejus cum magna manu invasit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existumans [5]dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum [6]sumere; [7]quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur: quippe qui totum ejus regnum [8]animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere coepit, et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. ADHERBAL ubi intellegit, eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope [9]Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et, quia [10]die extremum erat, praelium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit,

[1]obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos [2]partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo [3]togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, [4]vineis* turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante praelium factum, Romam ab Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, [tres adolescentes] in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "[5]velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello disceptare; ita [6]seque illisque dignum fore."

XXII. LEGATI in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de praelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor [7]clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta [8]oratione respondit: "sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia, P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: [9]ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam isse: populum Romanum neque recte, neque [10]pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium [11]sese prohibuerint: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. JUGURTHA, ubi eos Africa [12]decessisse ratus est,

neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare potest, [1]vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, [2]turris exstruit, easque praesidiis firmat: praeterea dies, noctes, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; [3]defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxume impigros, delegit, eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. NUMIDAE paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit. "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit: quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortalis [4]in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, [5]quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsae patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro, an fame acrius [6]urguear, incertus sum. [7]Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse: [8]nisi tamen intellego, illum supra, quam ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum [9]gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum; dein patrio regno me expulit:—[10]quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me, quem imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum [11]obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea de-

clarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et haec quae scribo, et quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, [1]ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas, [2]tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, [3]per amicitiae fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria [4]avi mei, Masinissae."

XXV. HIS litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab isdem regis fautoribus summa ope [5]enisum, ne [6]decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis [7]honoribus; in quis M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum senati [8]princeps. Hi, quod [9]in invidia res erat simul, et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim [10]escendere: dein brevi [11]Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCISSUME AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, [ni paruisset legatis:] porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. [12]Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius,

quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur: ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minae graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. EA postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthae tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia [1]potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem [2]excruciatum necat: dein omnis [3]puberes, Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius, interfecit.

XXVII. QUOD postquam Romae cognitum, et res in senatu agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, [4]tribunus plebis designatus, [5]vir acer, et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, [6]ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHAE SCELUS CONDONARETUR, [7]profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiae, atque pecuniae regis. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, [8]lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia [9]obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, [10]scribitur: stipendium, alia, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. AT Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto,

quippe cui, Romae omnia [1]venum ire, in animo haeserat, filium, et cum eo duo familiaris, ad senatum legatos mittit. hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecepit, "omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur." [2]Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus, PLACERETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHAE [3]RECIPI MOENIBUS: iique decrevere, "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus [proxumis] decem Italia decederent." [4]Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, [5]legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quae deliquisset, [6]munita fore sperabat: in quis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam [7]Rhegium, atque inde [8]Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam, transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multos mortalis, et urbis aliquot pugnando capit.

XXIX. SED, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, [9]animus aeger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui, tametsi a principio, plerisque [10]ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem impugnaverat; [11]tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romae pretio, aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum acceperat; in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis [12]de omnibus

pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea, [1]fidei caussa, mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae [2]Vagam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam [3]deditionis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, [4]praesenti consilio, locutus de invidia facti, atque in deditionem [5]uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, [6]quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti [7]pro consilio imperatum, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam [8]ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. POSTQUAM res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae forent, fama divulgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: [9]Patres probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero, bono impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent: multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate [10]Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem [11]perscribere; [12]ac potissumum, quae in concione, post reditum Bestiae, hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. "MULTA dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicae omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra

patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentiae plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; [1]ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, [2]obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed, quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente tradita est experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil [3]secessione opus: necesse est [4]suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam [5]quaestiones habitae sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii caedem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt: [6]utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. [7]Sed sane fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, aerarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et [8]summam gloriam, et maxumas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut poenitet: sed incedunt [9]per ora vestra magnifice, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos [10]ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissumi, cruentis

manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi, idemque superbissumi; quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum [1]occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque [2]pessume fecit, tam maxume tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed haec inter bonos amicitia est, [3]inter malos factio. Quod si [4]tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et [5]beneficia vestra penes optumos, non audacissumos, forent. Majores vestri, [6]parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia, bis, per secessionem, armati [7]Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, [8]quo majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis, Quid igitur censes? [9]Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi, [10]quod magis fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum; verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae: qui, si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, in rempublicam damna, dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam haec tempora, magis placent, cum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam reti-

nere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tamen etsi viro flagitiosissumum existumo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem [1]casura esset. Nam et illis, [2]quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiae quae spes? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. [3]Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non [4]peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae: quae, quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere, [5]id est regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi neglegas; at malus improbior. [6]Ad hoc, si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. HAEC atque alia hujuscemodi saepe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, [7]interposita fide publi-

ca, [1]Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. Fuere qui, auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthae traderent: alii perfugas [2]vendere: pars ex [3]pacatis praedas agebant: tanta VIS avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, [4]perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculsa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: ei timido, et [5]ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, "[6]quo se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam, experiri mallet." Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio.

XXXIII. IGITUR Jugurtha, [7]contra decus regium, [8]cultu quam maxume miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tamen etsi in ipso [9]magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta gesserat, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia [10]contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione; quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in [11]vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, quam irae magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire, [12]postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha, [13]verba facit, Romae Numidiaque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: "[14]quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si [15]vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin

reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. DEIN, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac, tamen etsi multitudo, quae in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, [1]terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione decessit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. EA erat tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, [2]Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgueat; regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul [3]belli gerundi, [4]movere quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia; Minucio [5]Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et [6]timor impediebat; Bomilcari, proxumo ac maxume fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac [7]maxume occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, [8]itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero qui ad caedem parati, [9]paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum ob-

truncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et imprimis Albino consule, [1]indicium profitetur. [2]Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam [3]animum advortit, supra grátiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam [4]in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta [5]vades dederat; regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus [6]profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed, postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, [7]URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!

XXXVI. INTERIM Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, alia quae militibus usui forent, [8]maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: [9]instanti cedere, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existumarent, neque [10]ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris [11]pro praetore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. EA tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, [12]continuare

magistratum nitebantur: quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege [1]pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat: magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum [2]Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat, [3](nam circum murum, situm in praerupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus, [4]vineas agere, [5]aggerem jacere, alia, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognita [6]vanitate atque imperitia legati, [7]subdolus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantis legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, [8]insequeretur. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum [9]tentabat: centuriones ducesque [10]turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, [corrumpere;] alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent: ita delicta occultiora fore. Quae postquam ex sententia [11]instruit, intempesta nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; coelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; [12]periculum anceps: postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una [13]Ligurum, cum duabus turmis [14]Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere

ad regem: et [1]centurio primi pili tertiae legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proxumum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostes, [2]quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet, tamen se humanarum rerum memorem, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis [3]sub jugum missurum: praeterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu [4]mutabant, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. SED, ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, [5]metus atque moeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, [6]quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, [7]ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat: et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit; [8]quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam, [9]soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, [10]ex copia rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

XL. INTEREA Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, rogationem ad populum promulgat, "uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta [1]neglegisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello, cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." [2]Huic rogationi, partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, [3]quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem [4]jusserit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicae: tanta lubido in partibus. Igitur, ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae supra [5]docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, [6]trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex [7]Mamilia rogatione tres [8]quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed [9]quaestio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore, et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. CETERUM [10]mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium [11]malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romae ortus, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriae, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat: [12]metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus discessit; [13]scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis

rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, [1]asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas [2]dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque [3]ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt; respublica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat: plebis vis, [4]soluta atque dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urguebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiaque, invadere, polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum [[5]ex nobilitate] reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponerent; moveri civitas, et [6]permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terrae, oriri coepit.

XLII. NAM postquam Tiberius et C. Graccus, [7]quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Graccorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos [8]eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum [9]coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro [10]necaverant. Et sane Graccis, cupidine victoriae, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed [11]bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, [12]multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque

in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiae, addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine, parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius [1]deserat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. POST Auli foedus, exercitusque nostri foedam fugam, Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, [provincias] inter se [2]paraverunt: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquam [3]advorso populi partium, fama tamen [4]aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi [5]cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, cetera instrumenta militiae parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: denique omnia, quae [6]bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum [7]ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, reges ultro auxilia mittere; postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter bonas artis, tum maxume, quod advorsum divitias animum invictum gerebat; et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae, hostiumque auctae erant.

XLIV. SED, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur [8]Sp. Albini pro consule, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promtior, praedator ex sociis, et ipse praeda hostium, [9]sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut spei

bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et [1]aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam, majorum disciplina, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, [2]quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat: nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliae [3]deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. [4]Lixae permixti cum militibus [5]die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, [6]villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: praeterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, [7]panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. SED in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; [8]tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. [9]Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixae exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in [10]agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:" ceteris [11]arte modum statuisse: praeterea [12]transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis [13]circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi [14]confirmavit.

XLVI. INTEREA Jugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de [1]innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum [2]suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum. Itaque [3]legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur; ac, paullatim [4]tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "uti Jugurtham maxume vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et [5]mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, [6]commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, [7]et insidiis locum tentari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu, apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti [8]velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens, an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. ERAT haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine [9]Vaga, [10]forum

rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. [1]Huic Consul, simul tentandi gratia et opperiundi, si paterentur opportunitates loci, praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quae bello usui [2]forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, [3]frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatuum juvaturam exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; praeter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat; regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. JUGURTHA ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs maxuma [4]alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, [5]quas maxumas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx. [6]tractu pari, [7]vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio [8]quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quae [9]humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. [10]Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea [11]consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. IGITUR in eo colle, quem [1]transvorso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, [2]extenuata suorum acie, consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit, eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu [3]pedites delectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutatum: quae ab imperatore [4]decuerint, omnia suis provisa: [5]locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritim, [6]ut quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu [7]conspicatur: primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta [8]equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen [9]incerti, quidnam esset; cum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen [10]constitit: ibi [11]commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere quod proxumum hostis erat, [12]triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: [13]inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, [14]transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus, ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans, hostis crebro impetu et [1]transvorsis praeliis iter suum remoraturos, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, [2]lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium [3]post principia habere: ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine [4]principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli [5]primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio [6]quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidae alii [7]postremos caedere; pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare: infensi adesse atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto praelio, [8]ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi, aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi coeperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxume divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugae collis, quam campi fuerant, [9]ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, [10]foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi: neque signa, neque ordines observare: ubi quem-

que periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti: nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum [1]die processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortis legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo [2]cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus: circumire, hortari, renovare praelium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, [3]quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthae alia omnia, praeter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi [4]perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat; [5]advorso colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidae fusi fugatique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paullatim suos in aequum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid [6]ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, et [7]animo vacuum accepit, simulque [8]ex Jugurthae praelio clamorem auge-

ri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum [1]arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt, nam [2]prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post, ubi aequabilem manere, et, [3]sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum, utrimque magno clamore [4]concurrunt. Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quae jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et praelio [5]fessi lassique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum [6]nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes [7]adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et paene imprudentia admissum [8]facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium laeti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad coelum ferre. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet: [9]advorsae res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in isdem castris quatriduo moratus, [10]saucios cum cura reficit, meritos [11]in praeliis more mili-

tiae donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum [1]numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod, praeter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt; neque id [2]flagitium militiae ducitur: [3]ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum [4]ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, [5]geri non posset; praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit [6]non praeliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissuma pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, [7]temere munita, aut sine praesidio, capit inceditque, puberes interfici jubet: alia omnia militum [8]praeda esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, adfatim praebita; ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis, quam praelium male pugnatum [ab suis], regem terrebant: quippe, [9]cui spes omnis in fuga sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui [10]sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen [11]ex copia, quod optumum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum [12]plerumque in isdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et [13]aviis itineribus [14]ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur: eorum ple-

rique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidae prius, quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

LV. INTERIM Romae gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: [1]ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in advorso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga, coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus OB EA FELICITER ACTA DIS IMMORTALIBUS [2]SUPPLICIA DECERNERE: civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, laeta agere: fama de Metello praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis animi anxius: neque, post insidias Jugurthae, [3]effuso exercitu praedari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu [4]praesidium agitabant: exercitus [5]partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam praeda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longe [6]inter se, castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius crescerent, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum [7]pugnae quaerere: qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere: postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari; neque praelium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. ROMANUS imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, [8]arcem regni, nomine [9]Zamam

statuit obpugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique praelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia [1]fallere nequibant, firmissumum. Praeterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxume occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus [2]Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum [3]dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam praeclari facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos." Ac, ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium [4]fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urguent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. MARIUS ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum in campo situm, magis [5]opere, quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; [6]infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: praelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; [7]alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis adgredi: cupere praelium in manibus

facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere: sudes, pila, [1]praeterea pice et sulphure taedam mixtam, ardentia mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula tormentis, aut manu emissa volnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. DUM apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis, quam praelium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars volnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem: neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt: sed tela eminus missa remittere, [2]pauci in pluribus minus frustrati: sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: dein, converso equo, animadvortit, fugam [3]ad se vorsum fieri; quae res indicabat [4]popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrumans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in [5]angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. IGITUR postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum

egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris [1]agitare jubet: portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in [2]proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu [3]facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri praelio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed [4]advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostis paene [5]victos dare.

LX. EODEM tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese spem habere: pariter oppidani agere; [6]obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad coelum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paullulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti praelium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut [7]niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, [8]agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in ea parte curabat,) consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu regis praelium visere. Ita illis [9]studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis [10]aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela inge-

runt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi [1]unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant adflicti sunt; ceteri, [2]quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti volneribus abeunt. Denique utrimque praelium nox diremit.

LXI. METELLUS, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut [3]suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit; et in his urbibus, quae ad se defecerant, satisque munitae loco, aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit. [4]Ceterum exercitum in provinciam [5]qua proxuma est Numidiae hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriae concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam Massivae de nece judicium fugerat, quod ei, [6]per maxumam amicitiam, maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat. dein fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidae persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optume merenti, provideat: omnibus praeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis saepe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, ne, illo cunctante, Numidae sibi consulant." His atque tali-

bus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: "[1]Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac [2]sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci: eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus, cum ipse ad [3]imperandum [4]Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis; cum modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. PER idem tempus Uticae forte [5]C. Mario, per hostias dis supplicanti, "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde quae animo [6]agitabat, fretus dis ageret; fortunam quam saepissume experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, praeter vetustatem familiae, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, [7]animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed [8]his natus, et omnem pueritiam [9]Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, [10]stipen-

diis faciundis, non Graeca facundia, neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile [2]notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is, [3]ad id locorum talis vir, (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est,) [4]consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin [5]his indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. IGITUR, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat [6]contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, "ne [7]tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur." Postquam haec atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, "[8]ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quae peteret." Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, [9]annos natus circiter xx. Quae res Marium cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, [10]grassari; neque facto ullo,

neque dicto abstinere, quod modo [1]ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, [2]criminose simul, et magnifice de bello loqui: "[3]dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo [4]inanis et [5]regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet." Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant, et [6]animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. ERAT praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento [7]secundum heredem scripserat, [8]morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum uti [9]sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius [10]anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum [11]imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido [12]secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: [13]id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et [14]equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus [15]honestissuma suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate [16]plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. INTERIM Jugurtha postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut [1]ostentando praemia adfectare: communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quae spe pacis amiserat, [2]reficere, aut [3]commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia tentare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: [4]cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis [5]suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque [6]discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, diem tertium constituunt, quod is [7]festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, [8]ludum et lasciviam magis, quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum praefectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnis, praeter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantis, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis, acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

LXVII. ROMANI milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique quid potissumum facerent, [9]trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique [10]pro tectis aedificioiorum saxa, et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri [11]anceps malum, neque a fortissumis [12]infirmissumo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti

obtruncati. [1]In ea tanta asperitate, saevissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus ; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus [2]intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. METELLUS, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paullisper moestus [3]e conspectu abit ; deinde, ubi [4]ira et aegritudo permixta, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis [5]expeditos educit : et postera die circiter [6]horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam [7]abnuentis omnia, docet, "oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse : decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, poenas caperent ;" praeterea [8]praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo [9]late, pedites quam artissume ire, signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. VAGENSES ubi animum advortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere ; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii volgum [10]effusum oppido caedere ; alii ad portas festinare ; pars turris capere : ira atque praedae spes amplius, quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo [11]ex perfidia laetati : civitas magna et opulens [12]poenae cuncta, aut praedae fuit. Turpilius quem, praefectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metel-

lo caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, [1]capite poenas solvit: [2]nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. PER idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere; diu noctuque [3]fatigare animum: denique omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, [4]carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso, aut majoribus adstricto [5]superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem [6]inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, [7]metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso [8]vetere consilio, novum quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, "[9]mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: [10]praemia Metelli in pestem ne converteret: Jugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane, an virtute Metelli periret, [11]id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia, an cruciatum, mallet."

LXXI. SED, cum hae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti [12]aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissumi, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas

litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus [1]opera et ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti [2]acta, cognovit, primo [3]indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: "[4]quae ipse paravisset, perfidia clientis sui praeventa:" lacrumans obtestatur "per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere súspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. AD ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram [5]oppresserat; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla [6]quieta [7]fuere: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civis, hostis juxta metuere: [8]circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. IGITUR Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, [9]fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de [10]Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis, [11]volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori, invidiae esse: at [12]illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis [13]studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata. Praeterea, seditiosi magistratus volgum exa-

gitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, [1]quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus, [2]frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsa nobilitate, [3]post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus, a tribuno plebis, Manilio Mancino, rogatus, QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marium jussit. Senatus paullo ante Metello [4]decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. EODEM tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis; quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, [5]varius incertusque agitabat: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in dies mutare: modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: saepe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha [6]pro tempore parati instructique: dein praelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex [7]adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri omnes [ejus milites] primo concursu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus praeliis pedes magis quam arma [8]tuta sunt.

LXXV. EA fuga Jugurtha [9]impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein [10]Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulen-

tum, ubi plerique thesauri, [1]filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen, spe patrandi belli, [si ejus oppidi potitus foret,] omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo, et alia aquae idonea portari. Praeterea conquirit ex agris, quam plurimum potest, domiti pecoris; eoque imponit [2]vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portarent; diem locumque, [3]ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente coelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, [4]officia intenderant. Ceterum milites [5]religione pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se [6]locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. SED rex nihil jam [7]infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, [8]arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, [9]ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una

nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia [1]per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos praelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis [2]ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, [3]et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore praeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, [4]oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis [5]corrupta. Ii postquam murum [6]arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant [7]eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. SED pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo [8]suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata [9]navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quae petebant, adepti. [10]Eo missae cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius praefectus.

LXXVIII. ID oppidum ab [11]Sidoniis conditum, quos

accepimus, profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum [1]situm inter duas [2]Syrtis, quibus nomen [3]ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in [4]extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum [5]proxuma terrae praealta sunt; cetera, [6]uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: [7]leges, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et [8]frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. SED, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraeque Africae imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. [9]Ager in medio arenosus, una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturno bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque [10]legiones, item classes fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, [11]per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, [12]quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi, per loca aequalia et [13]nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea, magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere

solet; ita prospectu impedito, [1]morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et [2]ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum [3]Poeni aliam conditionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, [4]Graeci [5]optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, "[6]vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros." Philaeni, conditione probata, seque vitamque reipublicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. JUGURTHA postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit [7]ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis [8]ad studium sui perducit; quis adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti advorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. [9]Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem opportunissumam incepto bello pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthae filia [10]Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea [11]necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges [12]eo amplius. Ita [13]animus multitudine distrahitur; [14]nulla pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. IGITUR in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse: eamdem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quis [1]omnia regna advorsa sint: [2]tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, [3]operae pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, praelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, [4]Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. IMPERATOR postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius ratus, [5]cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum, jam antea acceperat. Quis rebus supra [6]bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam: [7]vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii [8]in superbiam vortebant: alii [9]bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse: [10]multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur: nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. IGITUR eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere eum [1]magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset: quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare: [2]omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo licere; deponi cum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthae [3]perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; [4]si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura." Rursus imperator [5]contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: [6]ille probare, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum [7]intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. AT Marius, ut supra diximus, [8]cupientissuma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus [9]jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero [10]multus atque ferox instare: singulos modo, modo universos laedere: dictitare, "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia praeterea [11]magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, [12]prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere: praeterea ex Latio fortissumum quemque, [13]plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et [14]ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis [secum proficisci.] Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat: [15]quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli

usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi [1]animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi caussa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, [2]exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "[3]SCIO ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplicis, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere: sed mihi [4]contra ea videtur. [5]Nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura [6]illam administrari, quam haec peti debere. [7]Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et aerario parcere: cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, [8]opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute, et innocentia tutari: [9]nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, [10]omnium ora in me conversa esse: aequos bonosque favere: [11]quippe benefacta mea reipublicae procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, [12]ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. [13]Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae [14]ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis dif-

ficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis artibus egi, [1]benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem [2]veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare jussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; [3]homines praeposteri. [4]Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quae illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque [5]generosissumum. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid [6]responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. [7]Ne, illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter exspectant,

ignaviae voluptatem, et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant; quod [1]contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria [2]posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum id, quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. [3]Sed in maxumo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, [4]ex animi sententia, nulla oratio laedere potest: [5]quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maxumum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num id poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, [6]hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; praeterea, cicatrices advorso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non haereditate [7]relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. [8]Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: [9]illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. [10]Neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtu-

tem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma reipublicae doctus sum; hostem ferire, [1]praesidia agitare: nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et aestatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor: [2]neque illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. [3]Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cum [4]tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere: quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit; et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, [5]quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam villicum, habeo; quae mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex [6]sanctis viris ita accepi, [7]munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae, quam divitiarum: arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant; [8]ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissume luxuria et ignavia, pessumae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt; rei-

publicae innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tuta sunt, omnia removistis, [1]avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix. Nam magna pars avaritia, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus [2]militaris aetas, adnitimini mecum, et capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in praelio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus: quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicae subvenire decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus; neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. HUJUSCEMODI oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus navis onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque [3]ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, [4]capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia [5]bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus [6]auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia [7]cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum

erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. SED consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: praelia multa, [1]ceterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse: videre fugientis capi, occidi; fortissumum quemque tutissumum; armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, [2]divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi [posse;] Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. METELLUS interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam, [3]laetissumis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati: Itaque et Gaetulos, et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris praedam agentes, saepe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta [4]armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo, neque [5]belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco [6]pro hostibus, et advorsum se opportunissumae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut praelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nun-

cios ad eum saepe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus [1]gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum.

LXXXIX. SED consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut praemia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed, ubi procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, [2]majora et aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor [3]Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham [4]immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo, et armis atque viris, multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, praeter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re, accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, [5]jugi aqua, [6]cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, neque [7]salem, neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriae erat.

XC. IGITUR consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis provi-

dere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris, magis, quam [1]arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat; tamen [2]pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum [3]Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; [4]se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. CETERUM in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas, aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quae mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis [5]egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxuma facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissume potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies coepit, et Numidae, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere; [6]res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potes-

tate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidae puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati: praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritia, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu [1]coërcitum.

XCII. POSTQUAM tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi coepit. [2]Omnia non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data, in virtutem trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes, ad coelum ferre: Numidae magis, quam mortalem timere: postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta, propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, ad aliam rem adgreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat, [3]inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam [4]omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus [5]importunus: iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agitabantur: nam,

cum eae paullum processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo [1]administrare: optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo, omitteretne inceptum quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus. Quae cum multos dies, noctes [2]aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod [3]avorsum praeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cochleas: quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam [4]solitudinem intellexit, [5]more humani ingenii, cupido ignara visundi invadit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, [6]paullulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, [7]castelli planitiem perscribit: quod cuncti Numidae intenti praeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, [8]eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa cognitum, ex praesentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen [9]paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum, numerò quinque quam velocissumos delegit, et cum his, praesidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnis Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit.

XCIV. SED, ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratus compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui centuriis praeerant, praedocti ab [1]duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti [2]prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta: verum ea Numidica ex coriis, [3]ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa, et si quae vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus, singulos prae se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quae [4]dubia nisu videbantur, [5]potissumus tentare, ac saepius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim [6]digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, advorsum hostis aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos praelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, [7]testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque praelio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, et illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere: primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proxumus erat; postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo

acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere ; neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. CETERUM, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; [1]quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere : neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus; et L. [2]Sisenna, optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae, familiâ prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior : [3]otio luxurioso ; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, [4]nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli : facundus, callidus, et [5]amicitia facilis ; [6]ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis : multarum rerum, ac maxume pecuniae largitor. Atque felicissumo omnium [7]ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit ; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset : nam, postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. IGITUR Sulla, ut supra dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, [8]sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare ; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere : sed ea properantius, quam aes mutuum reddere ; ipse ab nullo repetere ; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent : joca atque seria cum humillumis

agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam laedere: tantummodo neque consilio, neque [1]manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus, brevi, Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis simul, et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: praelii faciundi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit, [2]dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proxumos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, [3]vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt: rati noctem, quae jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, [4]nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut [5]sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere [6]quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie, neque ullo more praelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quam praelio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus [7]equites pedites permixti, caedere alios, alios obtrun-

care, multos contra advorsos acerrume pugnantis, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi: deni que Romani veteres, novique, [1]et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. NEQUE in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis, quam antea demisso animo fuit: sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis, quam familiarissumis, paraverat, vagari passim: ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere: [2]manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, [3]noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius [4]ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et praeceps, [5]pauco munimento egebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, praelio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: [6]ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, [7]magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. PLURIMUM vero Marius imperitia hostium con-

firmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso [1]vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, [2]formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo praelio, quam omnibus superioribus interemti: nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. DEIN Marius, uti coeperat, [3]in hiberna; quae, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat: neque tamen secors victoria, aut insolens factus; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, [4]quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra A. Manlius, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, [5]praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, [6]minume cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter explorabant: simul consul, quasi [7]nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare [8]merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: [9]neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire; excubitum in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere: praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, [10]non diffidens ea futura, quae imperavisset, quam [11]uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius,

illo et aliis temporibus belli, pudore magis, quam [1]malo, exercitum coërcebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. [2]Nisi tamen res publica, pariter ac saevissumo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. IGITUR quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores [3]citi sese ostendunt: qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant; consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus [4]aeque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis, ipse aliique Mauros invadunt: ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites praeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat; quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis [5]ad pedites convortit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum:" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, [6]satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis [7]atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in [8]perculsos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab

fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis, quos advorsum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium [1]vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: [2]sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, volneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; [3]niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua [4]visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. [5]POSTEA loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo [6]post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret: velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo cum is disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; ingenium aut avorsum uti flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus. "Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia, cum te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissumum [7]persequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam a [8]principio reipublicae visum, amicos, quam servos quaerere: tutius rati, volentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia;

primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, [1]gratia par, ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod [2]parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala [3]perpessus es. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, [4]cui scilicet placuit te et vim et gratiam nostram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, ut coepisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum arma cepisse: nam Numidiae partem, [5]unde vi Jugurtham expulerat, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein [6]copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. MARIUS interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus praeliis [7]venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissuma erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli com-

ponendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, [1]sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro [2]vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed [3]adcurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum [4]largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia [5]in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quae aut utilia, aut [6]benevolentiae credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

CIV. MARIUS postquam, [7]ibi infecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. [8]Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciae postulabantur. [9]Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa [10]mutant. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxume benignitatem et [11]studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsum [12]deprecati sunt,

amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur. "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet; ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. QUIS rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; [1]cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, funditorum [2]Balearium: praeterea [3]sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campus patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui [4]temere et effuse euntes, Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et [5]hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque [6]expedire, arma atque tela [7]tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, rem, uti erat, [8]quietam nunciant.

CVI. VOLUX adveniens quaestorem adpellat: "se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et praesidio missum." Deinde eum et proxumum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et die vesper erat, repente Maurus [9]incerto voltu ad Sullam adcurrit: "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille [10]animo feroci negat "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paullo morbo interiturae vitae parceret." Ceterum ab [11]eodem monitus,

uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites [1]coenatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrumos fieri, dein [2]prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nunciant, "Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante consedisse." Quod postquam auditum, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere, proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, [3]manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. AT Sulla, quanquam eadem aestumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in praelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo metu [4]nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis vortere." Deinde Volucem, [5]quoniam hostilia faceret, maxumum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, "ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. [6]Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optumum factum videri, [7]per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel praemissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improviso [8]acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. IBI cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomi-

ne, multum et familiariter agebat: praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, [1]orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: praeterea Dabar, Massugradae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque, [2]quem Bocchus, fidum multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse dilegeret: [3]consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret: [4]cautum esse quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis [5]Punica fide, quam ob quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis [6]adtinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. IGITUR Sulla respondit: "pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissumis praesentibus:" simul edocet, quae responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti praeceptum, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: deinde ambo [7]in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: praeterea Dabar [8]internuncius, [9]sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit.

CX. "NUMQUAM ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac terra, [10]et omnium, quos novi, opulentissimus, pri-

vato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id [1]imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; [2]fuerit mihi pretium, eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id [3]adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me [4]integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestumo, regem armis, quam munificentia vinci, minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, [5]cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque [6]factum umquam volui: finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti voltis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non [7]egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. [8]Praeterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. AD ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefacit, [9]quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur: [10]id adeo in promtu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, ultro adventuram." Rex primo [11]negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne [12]fluxa fide usus, popularium animos avorteret, quis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique saepius fatigatus, [13]leniter et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se factu-

rum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissumus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXII. AT rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthae legatum adpellat: "[1]sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum confidere: saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam [2]frustra fuisse. [3]Ceterum si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem virum in potestate haberet, fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, [4]non sua ignavia, sed ob rempublicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. HAEC Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum [5]dolo, an vere, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe [6]ipsae sibi advorsae. Postea, tempore et loco constituto, [in colloquium uti de pace veniretur,] Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum adpellare, [7]benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti, ac spei bonae pleni. Sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutata voluntate [8]remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, [9]voltu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: qua re, scilicet tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul

abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa, procedit in tumulum, facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermus, [1]ut dictum, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus.

CXIV. PER idem tempus advorsum [2]Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Caepione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. [3]Illique et, inde ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse; [4]cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed, postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul [5]absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia: isque [6]Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. [7]Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

# LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

# SALLUST.

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"SALLUST has generally been considered as the first among the Romans who merited the title of historian. This celebrated writer was born at Amiternum, in the territory of the Sabines, in the year of Rome 668. He received his education in the latter city, and, in his early youth, appears to have been desirous to devote himself to literary pursuits. But it was not easy for one residing in the capital to escape the contagious desire of military or political distinction. He obtained the situation of Quæstor, which entitled him to a seat in the Senate, at the age of twenty-seven; and about six years afterwards he was elected Tribune of the commons. While in this office, he attached himself to the fortunes of Cæsar, and along with one of his colleagues, conducted the prosecution against Milo for the murder of Clodius. In the year of the city 704, he was excluded from the Senate, on the pretext of immoral conduct, but more probably from the violence of the patrician party, to which he was opposed. Aulus Gellius, on the authority of Varro's treatise, *Pius aut de Pace*, informs us that he incurred this disgrace in consequence of an intrigue with Fausta, the wife of Milo, who caused him to be scourged by his slaves.† It has been doubted, however, by modern critics, whether it was the historian Sallust who was thus punished, or his nephew Crispus Sallustius, to whom Horace has addressed the second ode of the second book. It seems, indeed, unlikely, that in such a cor-

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* *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 2. p. 143. *seqq. Lond. ed.*

† *Noct. Att.* 17. 18.

rupt age, an amour with a woman of Fausta's abandoned charac ter, should have been the real cause of his expulsion from the Se nate. After undergoing this ignominy, which, for the present, baffled all his hopes of preferment, he quitted Rome, and joined his patron, Cæsar, in Gaul. He continued to follow the fortunes of that commander, and, in particular, bore a share in the expedi tion to Africa, where the scattered remains of Pompey's party had united. That region being finally subdued, Sallust was left by Cæsar as Prætor of Numidia; and about the same time married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero. He remained only a year in his government, but during that period enriched himself by despoiling the province. On his return to Rome, he was accused by the Numidians, whom he had plundered, but escaped with impunity by means of the protection of Cæsar, and was quietly permitted to betake himself to a luxurious retirement with his ill-gotten wealth. He chose for his favourite retreats, a villa at Tibur, which had belonged to Cæsar, and a magnificent palace, which he built in the suburbs of Rome, surrounded by delightful pleasure-grounds, afterwards well known and celebrated by the name of the Gardens of Sallust. One part of this splendid mansion faced the street, where he constructed a spacious market-place, in which every article of luxury was sold in abundance. The other front looked to the gardens, which were contiguous to those of Lucullus, and occupied the extremity of the Viminal and Pincian hills. In them, every beauty of nature, and every embellishment of art that could delight or gratify the senses, seem to have been assembled. Umbrageous walks, open parterres, and cool porticos displayed their various attractions. Amidst shrubs and flowers of every hue and odour, interspersed with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, pure streams of water preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; and while, on the one hand, the distant prospect caught the eye, on the other, the close retreat invited to repose or meditation. These gardens included within their precincts the most magnificent baths, a temple to Venus, and a circus which Sallust repaired and ornamented. Possessed of such attractions, the Sallustian palace and gardens became, after the death of their original proprietor, the residence of successive emperors. Augustus chose them as the scene of his most sumptuous entertainments. The taste of Vespasian preferred them to the palace of the Cæsars. Even the virtuous Nerva, and stern Aure

lian, were so attracted by their beauty, that, while at Rome, they were their constant abode. "The palace," says Eustace, "was consumed by fire on the fatal night when Alaric entered the city. The temple, of singular beauty, sacred to Venus, was discovered about the middle of the sixteenth century, in opening the grounds of a garden, and was destroyed for the sake of the materials. Of the circus little remains, but masses of walls that merely indicate its site; while statues and marbles, found occasionally, continue to furnish proofs of its former magnificence." Many exquisite statues and pictures have been found on the same spot; but these may have been placed there by the magnificence of the imperial occupiers, and not of the original proprietor.

In these gardens, or his villa at Tibur, Sallust passed the concluding years of his life, dividing his time between literary avocations and the society of his friends—among whom he numbered Lucullus, Messala, and Cornelius Nepos.

Such being his friends and studies, it seems highly improbable that he indulged in that excessive libertinism which has been attributed to him, on the erroneous supposition that he was the Sallust mentioned by Horace in the first book of his Satires. The subject of Sallust's character is one which has excited some investigation and interest, and on which very different opinions have been formed. That he was a man of loose morals is evident; and it cannot be denied that he rapaciously plundered his province, like most Roman governors of the day. But it seems doubtful if he was that monster of iniquity he has been sometimes represented. He was extremely unfortunate in the first permanent notice taken of his character by his contemporaries. The decided enemy of Pompey and his faction, he had said of that celebrated chief, in his general history, that he was a man "oris probi, animo inverecundo." Lenæus, the freedman of Pompey, avenged his master, by the most virulent abuse of his enemy,* in a work which should rather be regarded as a frantic satire than an historical document. Of the injustice which he has done to the life of the historian we may, in some degree, judge, from what he says of him as an author. He calls him, as we farther learn from Suetonius, "Nebulonem vita scriptisque monstrosum; præterea priscorum Catonisque

* Suetonius, *De Grammaticis.*

ineruditissimum furem." The life of Sallust, by Asconius Pedianus, which was written in the age of Augustus, and might have acted, at the present day, as a corrective or palliative of the unfavourable impression produced by this injurious libel, has unfortunately perished; and the next work on the subject now extant, is a professed rhetorical declamation against the character of Sallust, which was given to the world in the name of Cicero, but was not written till long after the death of that orator, and is now generally assigned by critics to a rhetorician, in the reign of Claudius, called Porcius Latro. The calumnies invented or exaggerated by Lenæus, and propagated in the scholastic theme of Porcius Latro, have been adopted by Le Clerc, professor of Hebrew at Amsterdam, and by Professor Meisner, of Prague, in their respective accounts of the Life of Sallust. His character has received more justice from the prefatory Memoir and Notes of De Brosses, his French translator, and from the researches of Wieland in Germany.

From what is known of Fabius Pictor, and his immediate successors, it must be apparent, that the art of historic composition at Rome was in the lowest state, and that Sallust had no model to imitate among the writers of his own country. He therefore naturally recurred to the productions of the Greek historians. The native exuberance, and loquacious familiarity of Herodotus, were not adapted to his taste; and simplicity, such as that of Xenophon, is, of all things, the most difficult to attain: he therefore chiefly emulated Thucydides, and attempted to transplant into his own language the vigour and conciseness of the Greek historian; but the strict imitation, with which he followed him, has gone far to lessen the effect of his own original genius.

The first work of Sallust was the *Conspiracy of Catiline*. There exists, however, some doubt as to the precise period of its composition. The general opinion is, that it was written immediately after the author went out of office as Tribune of the commons, that is, A. U. C. 703. And the composition of the *Jugurthine War*, as well as of his general history, are fixed by Le Clerc between that period and his appointment to the Prætorship of Numidia. But others have supposed that they were all written during the space which intervened between his return from Numidia in 709, and his death, which happened in 718, four years previous to the battle of Actium. It is maintained by the supporters of this

last idea, that he was too much engaged in political tumults previous to his administration of Numidia, to have leisure for such important compositions—that, in the introduction to Catiline's Conspiracy, he talks of himself as withdrawn from public affairs, and refutes accusations of his voluptuous life, which were only applicable to this period; and that, while instituting the comparison between Cæsar and Cato, he speaks of the existence and competition of these celebrated opponents as things that had passed over —"Sed mea memoria, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus, fuere viri duo, Marcus Cato et Caius Cæsar." On this passage, too, Gibbon in particular argues, that such a flatterer and party-tool as Sallust would not, during the life of Cæsar, have put Cato so much on a level with him in the comparison. De Brosses argues with Le Clerc in thinking that the Conspiracy of Catiline at least must have been written immediately after 703; as he would not, after his marriage with Terentia, have commemorated the disgrace of her sister, who, it seems, was the vestal virgin, whose intrigue with Catiline is recorded by Sallust. But whatever may be the case as to Catiline's Conspiracy, it is quite clear that the Jugurthine War was written subsequently to the author's residence in Numidia, which evidently suggested to him this theme, and afforded him the means of collecting the information necessary for completing his work.

The subjects chosen by Sallust form two of the most important and prominent topics in the history of Rome. The periods indeed which he describes were painful, but they were interesting. Full of conspiracies, usurpations, and civil wars, they chiefly exhibit the mutual rage and iniquity of embittered factions, furious struggles between the patricians and plebeians, open corruption in the Senate, venality in the courts of justice, and rapine in the provinces. This state of things, so forcibly painted by Sallust, produced the conspiracy, and even in some degree created the character, of Catiline. But it was the oppressive debts of individuals, the temper of Sylla's soldiers, and the absence of Pompey with his army, which gave a possibility, and even prospect of success to a plot which affected the vital existence of the commonwealth; and which, although arrested in its commencement, was one of those violent shocks which hasten the fall of a state.

The History of the Jugurthine War, if not so imposing or menacing to the vital interests and immediate safety of Rome, exhibits a more extensive field of action, and a greater theatre of war. No prince, except Mithridates, gave so much employment to the arms of the Romans. In the course of no war in which they had ever been engaged, not even the second Carthaginian war, were the people more desponding, and in none were they more elated with ultimate success. Nothing can be more interesting than the accounts of the vicissitudes of this contest. The endless resources and hair-breadth escapes of Jugurtha—his levity, his fickle and faithless disposition, contrasted with the perseverance and prudence of the Roman commander Metellus, are all described in a manner the most vivid and picturesque.

Sallust had attained the age of twenty-two when the conspiracy of Catiline broke out, and was an eye-witness of the whole proceedings. He had, therefore, sufficient opportunity of recording with accuracy and truth the progress and termination of the conspiracy. Sallust has certainly acquired the praise of a veracious historian, and I do not know that he has been detected in falsifying any fact within the sphere of his knowledge. Indeed, there are few historical compositions of which the truth can be proved on such evidence as the conspiracy of Catiline. The facts detailed in the orations of Cicero, though differing in some minute particulars, coincide in every thing of importance, and highly contribute to illustrate and verify the work of our historian. But Sallust lived too near the period of which he treated, and was too much engaged in the political tumults of the day, to give a faithful account, unbiassed by animosity or predilection ; he could not have raised himself above all hopes, and fears, and prejudices, and therefore could not in all their extent have fulfilled the duties of an impartial writer. A contemporary historian of such turbulent times would be apt to exaggerate through adulation, or conceal through fear, to instil the precepts not of the philosopher but the partisan, and colour facts into harmony with his own system of patriotism or friendship. An obsequious follower of Cæsar, he has been accused of a want of candour in varnishing over the views of his patron ; yet I have never been able to persuade myself that Cæsar was deeply engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline, or that a person of his prudence should have leagued with such

rash associates, or followed so desperate an adventurer. But the chief objection urged against his impartiality, is the feeble and apparently reluctant commendation he bestows on Cicero, who is now acknowledged to have been the principal actor in detecting and frustrating the conspiracy. Though fond of displaying his talents in drawing characters, he exercises none of it on Cicero, whom he merely terms "homo egregius et optumus consul," which was but cold applause for one who had saved the commonwealth. It is true, that, in the early part of the history, praise, though sparingly bestowed, is not absolutely withheld. The election of Cicero to the consulship is fairly attributed to the high opinion entertained of his talents and capacity, which overcame the disadvantages of obscure birth. The mode adopted of gaining over one of the accomplices, and for fixing his own wavering and disaffected colleague, the dexterity manifested in seizing the Allobrogian deputies with the letters, and the irresistible effect produced by confronting them with the conspirators, are attributed exclusively to Cicero. It is in the conclusion of the business that the historian withholds from him his due share of applause, and contrives to eclipse him by always interposing the character of Cato. though it could not be unknown to any witness of those transactions that Cato himself and other senators publicly hailed the consul as the Father of his country; and that a public thanksgiving to the gods was decreed in his name, for having preserved the city from conflagration, and the citizens from massacre. This omission, which may have originated partly in enmity, and partly in disgust at the ill-disguised vanity of the consul, has in all times been regarded as the chief defect, and even stain, in the history of the Catilinarian conspiracy.

Although not an eye-witness of the war with Jugurtha, Sallust's situation as Prætor of Numidia, which suggested the composition, was favourable to the authority of the work, by affording opportunity of collecting materials, and procuring information. He examined into the different accounts, written as well as traditionary, concerning the history of Africa, particularly the documents preserved in the archives of King Hiempsal, which he caused to be translated for his own use, and which proved peculiarly serviceable in the detailed account which he has given of the inhabitants of Africa. In this history he has been accused of shewing an undue par-

tiality towards the character of Marius; and of giving, for the sake of his favourite leader, an unfair account of the massacre at Vacca. But he appears to me to do even more than ample justice to Metellus, as he represents the war as almost finished by him previous to the arrival of Marius, though it was, in fact, far from being concluded.

Veracity and fidelity are the chief, and, indeed, the indispensable duties of an historian. Of all the ornaments of historic composition, it derives its chief embellishment from a graceful and perspicuous style. That of the earlier annalists was inelegant and jejune, but it came to be considered, in the progress of history, as a matter of primary importance. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that so much value was at length attached to it, since the ancient historians seldom gave their authorities, and considered the merit of history as consisting in fine writing more than in an accurate detail of facts. Sallust evidently regarded a fine style as one of the chief merits of an historical work. The style on which he took so much pains, was carefully formed on that of Thucydides, whose manner of writing was in a great measure original, and, till the time of Sallust, peculiar to himself. The Roman has wonderfully succeeded in imitating the vigour and conciseness of the Greek historian, and infusing into his composition something of that dignified austerity which distinguishes the works of his great model; but when I say that Sallust has imitated the conciseness of Thucydides, I mean the rapid and compressed manner in which his narrative is conducted; in short, brevity of idea rather than of language. For Thucydides, although he brings forward only the principal idea, and discards what is collateral, yet frequently employs long and involved periods. Sallust, on the other hand, is abrupt and sententious, and is generally considered as having carried this sort of brevity to a vicious excess. The use of copulatives, either for the purpose of connecting his sentences with each other, or uniting the clauses of the same sentence, is in a great measure rejected. This produces a monotonous effect, and a total want of that flow and variety which is the principal charm of the historic period. Seneca accordingly (*Epist.* 114.) talks of the "Amputatae sententiae, et verba ante expectatum cadentia," which the practice of Sallust had rendered fashionable. Lord Monboddo calls his style incoherent, and declares that there is not

one of his short and uniform sentences which deserves the name of a period; so that, supposing each sentence were in itself beautiful, there is not variety enough to constitute fine writing. It was, perhaps, partly in imitation of Thucydides, that Sallust introduced into his history a number of words almost considered as obsolete, and which were selected from the works of the older authors of Rome, particularly Cato the censor. It is on this point he has been chiefly attacked by Pollio, in his letters to Plancus. He has also been taxed with the opposite vice, of coining new words, and introducing Greek idioms; but the severity of judgment which led him to imitate the ancient and austere dignity of style, made him reject those sparkling ornaments of composition, which were beginning to infect the Roman taste, in consequence of the increasing popularity of the rhetorical schools of declamation, and the more frequent intercourse with Asia. On the whole, in the style of Sallust, there is too much appearance of study, and a want of that graceful ease, which is generally the effect of art, but in which art is no where discovered.

Of all the departments of history, the delineation of character is the most trying to the temper and impartiality of the writer, more especially where he has been contemporary with the individuals he pourtrays, and in some degree engaged in the transactions he records. Five or six of the characters drawn by Sallust have in all ages been regarded as master-pieces. He has seized the delicate shades, as well as the prominent features, and thrown over them the most lively and appropriate colouring. Those of the two principal actors in his tragic histories are forcibly given, and prepare us for the incidents which follow. The portrait drawn of Catiline conveys a lively notion of his mind and person,—his profligate and untameable spirit, his infinite resources, unwearied application and prevailing address. We behold, as it were, before us, the deadly paleness of his countenance, his ghastly eye, his unequal troubled step, and the distraction of his whole appearance, strongly indicating the restless horror of a guilty conscience. I think, however, it might have been instructive and interesting if we had seen something more of the atrocities of the early life of this chief conspirator. The notice also of the other conspirators is too brief, and there is too little discrimination of their characters. The parallel drawn between Cato and Cæsar is one of the

most celebrated passages in the history of the conspiracy. Of both these famed opponents we are presented with favourable likenesses. Their defects are thrown into the shade; and the bright qualities of each different species by which they were distinguished, are contrasted for the purpose of showing the various qualities by which men arrive at eminence.

The introductory sketch of the genius and manners of Jugurtha is no less able and spirited than the character of Catiline. The most singular part of his character was the mixture of boldness and irresolution which it combined; but the lesson we receive from it, lies in the miseries of suspicion and remorse which he had created for himself by his atrocities, and which rendered him as wretched on the throne or at the head of his army, as in the dungeon in which he ended his existence. The portraits of the other principal characters who figured in the Jugurthine war, are also well brought out. That of Marius, in particular, is happily touched. His insatiable ambition is artfully disguised under the mask of patriotism,—his cupidity and avarice are concealed under that of martial simplicity and hardihood; but, though we know from his subsequent career the hypocrisy of his pretensions, the character of Marius is presented to us in a more favourable light than that in which it can be viewed on a survey of his whole life. We see the blunt and gallant soldier, and not that savage whose innate cruelty of soul was first about to burst forth for the destruction of his countrymen. In drawing the portrait of Sylla, the memorable rival of Marius, the historian represents him also such as he appeared at that period, not such as he afterwards proved himself to be. We behold him with pleasure as an accomplished and subtle commander, eloquent in speech, and versatile in resources; but there is no trace of the cold-blooded assassin, the tyrant, buffoon, and usurper.

History, in its original state, was confined to narrative: the reader being left to form his own reflections on the deeds or events recorded. The historic art, however, conveys not complete satisfaction, unless these actions be connected with their causes,—the political springs, or private passions, in which they originated. It is the business, therefore, of the historian, to apply the conclusions of the politician in explaining the causes and effects of the transactions he relates. These transactions the author must receive from

authentic monuments or records, but the remarks deduced from them must be the offspring of his own ingenuity. The reflections with which Sallust introduces his narrative, and those he draws from it, are so just and numerous, that he has by some been considered the father of philosophic history. It must always, however, be remembered, that the proper subject of history is the detail of national transactions,—that whatever forms not a part of the narrative is episodical, and therefore improper, if it be too long, and do not grow naturally out of the subject. Now, some of the political and moral digressions of Sallust are neither very immediately connected with his subject, nor very obviously suggested by the narration. The discursive nature and inordinate length of the introduction to his histories have been strongly objected to. The first four sections of Catiline's Conspiracy have indeed little relation to that topic. They might as well have been prefixed to any other history, and much better to a moral or philosophic treatise. In fact, a considerable part of them, descanting on the fleeting nature of wealth and beauty, and all such adventitious possessions, are borrowed from the second oration of Isocrates. Perhaps the eight following sections are also disproportioned to the length of the history; but the preliminary essay they contain on the degradation of Roman manners and decline of virtue, is not an unsuitable introduction to the conspiracy, as it was this corruption of morals which gave birth to it, and bestowed on it a chance of success. The preface to the Jugurthine War has much less relation to the subject which it is intended to introduce. The author discourses at large on his favourite topic, the superiority of mental endowments over corporeal advantages, and the beauty of virtue and genius. He contrasts a life of listless indolence with one of honourable activity; and, finally, descants on the task of the historian as a suitable exercise for the highest faculties of the mind.

Besides the Conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War, which have been preserved entire, and from which our estimate of the merits of Sallust must be chiefly formed, he was author of a civil and military history of the republic, in five books, entitled *Historia rerum in Republica Romana Gestarum.* This work was the mature fruit of the genius of Sallust, having been the last he composed, and is inscribed to Lucullus, the son of the celebrated commander of that name. It included, properly speaking, only a

period of thirteen years,—extending from the resignation of the dictatorship by Sylla, till the promulgation of the Manilian Law, by which Pompey was invested with authority equal to that which Sylla had relinquished; and obtained, with unlimited power in the East, the command of the army destined to act against Mithridates. This period, though short, comprehends some of the most interesting and luminous points which appear in the Roman annals. During this interval, and almost at the same moment, the republic was attacked in the East by the most powerful and enterprising of the monarchs with whom it had yet waged war; in the West by one of the most skilful of its own generals; and in the bosom of Italy by its gladiators and slaves. The work was also introduced by two discourses, the one presenting a picture of the government and manners of the Romans, from the origin of their city to the commencement of the civil wars; the other containing a general view of the dissensions of Marius and Sylla; so that the whole book may be considered as connecting the termination of the Jugurthine War and the breaking out of Catiline's conspiracy. The loss of this valuable production is the more to be regretted, as all the accounts of Roman history which have been written are defective during the interesting period it comprehended. Nearly seven hundred fragments belonging to it have been amassed, from Scholiasts and Grammarians, by De Brosses, the French translator of Sallust; but they are so short and unconnected that they merely serve as land-marks, from which we may conjecture what subjects were treated of, and what events recorded. The only parts of the history which have been preserved in any degree entire, are four orations and two letters. The first is an oration pronounced against Sylla by the turbulent M. Aemilius Lepidus, who, as is well known, being desirous, at the expiration of his year, to be appointed a second time Consul, excited for that purpose a civil war, and rendered himself master of great part of Italy. His speech, which was preparatory to these designs, was delivered after Sylla had abdicated the dictatorship, but was still supposed to retain great influence at Rome. He is accordingly treated as being still the tyrant of the state; and the people are exhorted to throw off the yoke completely, and to follow the speaker to the bold assertion of their liberties. The second oration is that of Lucius Philippus, which is an invective

against the treasonable attempt of Lepidus, and was calculated to rouse the people from the apathy with which they beheld proceedings that were likely to terminate in the total subversion of the government. The third harangue was delivered by the Tribune Licinius. It was an effort of that demagogue to depress the patrician, and raise the tribunitial, power; for which purpose he alternately flatters the people and reviles the Senate. The oration of Marcus Cotta is unquestionably a fine one. He addressed it to the people, during the period of his consulship, in order to calm their minds, and allay their resentment at the bad success of public affairs; which, without any blame on his part, had lately, in many respects, been conducted to an unprosperous issue. Of the two letters which are extant, the one is from Pompey to the Senate, complaining in very strong terms of the deficiency in the supplies for the army which he commanded in Spain against Sertorius; the other is supposed to be addressed from Mithridates to Arsaces, king of Parthia, and to be written when the affairs of the former monarch were proceeding unsuccessfully. It exhorts him, nevertheless, with great eloquence and power of argument, to join him in an alliance against the Romans: for this purpose, it places in a strong point of view their unprincipled policy, and ambitious desire of universal empire—all which could not, without this device of an imaginary letter by a foe, have been so well urged by a national historian. It concludes with showing the extreme danger which the Parthians would incur from the hostility of the Romans, should they succeed in finally subjugating Pontus and Armenia. The only other fragment of any length, is the description of a splendid entertainment given to Metellus, on his return, after a year's absence from his government of Farther Spain. It appears, from several other fragments, that Sallust had introduced, on occasion of the Mithridatic war, a geographical account of the shores and countries bordering on the Euxine, in the same manner as he enters into a topographical description of Africa, in his history of the Jugurthine War. This part of his work has been much applauded by ancient writers for exactness and liveliness; and is frequently referred to, as the highest authority, by Strabo Pomponius Mela, and other geographers.

Besides his historical works, there exist two political discourses, concerning the administration of the government, in the form of letters to Julius Cæsar, which have generally, though not on sufficient grounds, been attributed to the pen of Sallust."

# EXPLANATORY NOTES.

# NOTES

ON THE

## CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

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1. *Omnis.* The accusative plural for *omnes.* The common 1
grammatical rule is, that nouns whose genitive plural ends in *ium,* have *es, is,* or *eis* in the accusative plural. In the best ages of Latinity, however, the termination in *is* would seem to have been most commonly employed. In the manuscript from which the Abbè Maio lately printed Cicero's work *De Republica,* the termination in *is,* with the exception of six places, uniformly prevails. (*vid. Cic. de Rep. p.* 623. *ed. Moser.*) Still, the termination in *es* was also used by the best writers; and it is even doubtful if all the words which have *ium* in the genitive plural, had *is* in the accusative. *Clases* and *Classeis,* and *Cartaciniienses,* are all found on the Duilian column. (*Zumpt. L. G. p.* 30. *Kenrick's transl.* 2*d. ed.* Compare *Dunbar on the Greek and Latin Languages,* p. 89. seqq.)

2. *Homines.* In strictness, *homo* denotes "one of the human race," as opposed to a being of another species, to one of a superior, or one of an inferior order. *Vir,* on the contrary, being employed to denote "a man," not a woman or a boy, and implying those properties or qualities which constitute the *man,* is used as a term of respect; and hence it often signifies, emphatically, "a hero." *Homo* being applicable to any of the human species indiscriminately, implies no peculiar merit or excellence in the individual to whom it is applied; and is used indifferently for men of any class or character. It may likewise be remarked th en *homo*

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1 signifies a "female" it is never joined with a feminine adjective, but put in apposition with a feminine noun. (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 326, 3d. ed.)

3. *Sese student praestare.* The insertion of the pronoun is not, as some maintain, a pleonasm, but in reality the fuller form of expression; and *sese praestare* may be regarded as equivalent to *ut ipsi praestent.* Compare *Cort. ad loc.*

4. *Silentio,* "in obscurity." *Silentium* here denotes the silence which the rest of mankind preserve respecting us when we have done nothing to render our names illustrious. Thus Silius Italicus (3. 145.) "*Quantum etenim distant a morte silentia vitae?*" Compare, *Tacitus, Agric. c.* 3.

5. *Prona.* "stooping downward to the earth."——6. *sita. Est* understood. The student will observe that in the best editions of Sallust the substantive verb is very frequently omitted.

7. *Animi imperio,* &c. This passage is commonly, though incorrectly, rendered as follows: "We make more use of the empire of the mind *than* of the obedience of the body." It should be, "We use more the empire of the mind, the obedience of the body." Sallust wishes to convey the idea, that it is the province of the mind to command, of the body to obey. Compare Seneca (*Ep.* 114.) "*Rex noster est animus.*" Sallust is supposed to have borrowed the idea in the text from Aristotle, (*Polit.* 1. 5.) τὸ δὲ ζῶον πρῶτον συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἄρχον ἐστὶ φύσει, τὸ δὲ ἀρχόμενον.

8. *Alterum. Alter* means one of two, but *alius*, when followed by *alius*, one of many. The plural *alteri* is used when two bodies or classes of men are opposed to each other. As denoting the other of two, *alter* was also used for the second: thus, *primus, alter, tertius; unus et vicesimus, alter et vicesimus.* The propriety of this latter meaning is ably discussed by Crombie, (*Gymnasium, vol.* 1, p. 201, seqq. 3*d ed.*)

9. *Quo mihi rectius videtur,* &c. "Wherefore it appears to me more consistent with reason, to seek for a distinguished name by the resources of intellect rather than of bodily strength."

10. *Memoriam nostri* "the remembrance of ourselves." *Memoriam nostram* would mean, "our faculty of memory."——

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11. *Habetur.* The verb here retains all its proper force, and the passage may be rendered, "The endowments of mind form the only illustrious and lasting possession." 1

12. *Sed.* This particle is here elegantly used in the sense of continuation, like δὲ in Greek, and may be rendered "Now." ——13. *Virtute animi*, "energy of mind."——14. *Res militaris*, "the success of a military enterprise."

15. *Incipias.* The second person is here elegantly employed to impart animation to the style: "before you begin," instead of "before one begins." Equally elegant is the use of the participles *consulto* and *facto* in the place of nouns. As regards the idea conveyed in the text, compare Isocrates (*ad Demonicum*) βουλεύου μὲν βραδέως, ἐπιτέλει δὲ ταχέως τὰ δόξαντα: and also Demosthenes, (Προοίμια Δημηγορικά. 1432. 11. *ed. Reiske.*) δεῖ δὲ βουλεύεσθαι μὲν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ποιεῖν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα μετὰ σπουδῆς.

16. *Veget.* An archaism for *viget.* Hence *vegetus* and the verb *vegeto.* Cortius and many other editors read *eget*, but, as Dahl well remarks, *indigens eget* is a frigid expression.

17. *Imperii*, "of authority." Compare *Cic. de Leg.* 3. 2. "*Omnes antiquae gentes regibus quondam paruerunt.*"——18. *Diversi*, "differing in their views." Dureau de Lamalle renders it, "suivant différents systèmes;" and Beauzée, "selon la diversité de leurs goûts."——19. *Etiam tum.* This is the Bipont reading; Cortius has *et jam tum.*

20. *Agitabatur.* Used for *agebatur*, the frequentative for the simple verb. Many of the older writers, such as Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, &c., are, like Sallust, fond of this peculiar usage, on account evidently of the fuller sound of the frequentative form.

1. *Cyrus.* The elder Cyrus, son of Cambyses and Mandane, who transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians, dethroning his grandfather Astyages. The true Persian form of the name is thought to have had a close resemblance to the Hebrew *Khoresh* (Cyrus), which the Greeks uniformly and correctly interpret "the sun." Compare the Persian *Khor* and *Khorshid* (the sun,) of which last the Hebrew form is thought to be a contraction. (*Gesenius*, s. v.—*Baehr ad Ctes.* p. 194.) 2

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2 Sallust begins with the reign of Cyrus, because all before that period was regarded by many of the ancients (we need not add with what little reason) as purely fabulous.

2. *Lubidinem dominandi*, "a thirst for dominion."——3. *periculo atque negotiis*, "from experience and affairs themselves."

4. *Quod si regum*, &c. "But if the mental qualities of kings and of those who command were exercised to the same degree in peace that they are in war."——5. *aequabilius atque constantius*, &c. "human affairs would proceed with more regularity and steadiness." This usage of the verb *habeo* with the pronoun is analogous to the Greek idiom: εὖ ἔχει "he is well," i. e. εὖ ἔχει (ἑαυτὸν) "he has himself well." (Compare *Viger's Greek Idioms*, p. 84. *Seager's transl.*)

6. *Aliud alio*, &c. *Alius* is frequently used by Sallust, and also by the best writers, with one of its own cases, or an adverb derived from it, to denote what in English requires two separate expressions. Thus we may render the passage in the text, "neither would you behold one thing carried in one direction, another in another, &c."——7. *artibus*, "means."

8. *Pro labore*, "in the stead of active exertion." *Labor* has here a special reference to military operations.——9. *pro continentia et aequitate*, &c., "in the stead of moderation and a regard for natural equality, cupidity, and a tyrannical spirit, &c." As Sallust here contrasts virtues and vices, *continentia* will be opposed to *lubido*, and *aequitas* to *superbia*; which removes, we conceive, all difficulty as to the meaning of the individual terms. Burnouf makes *lubido* in this passage signify "caprice," an opinion in which we cannot concur.——10. *fortuna*. Understand *principum*.

11. *Optumum quemque*, "the most deserving." Literally, "each most deserving person."——12. *arant*, &c., equivalent to *arando, navigando, aedificando efficiunt*: hence *quae homines arant*, &c. may be rendered by nouns, "agriculture, navigation, architecture."——13. *virtuti omnia parent*, "depend all upon the energies of mind for their successful employment."

14. *Peregrinantes*. A beautiful expression, by which the sensualist and the sluggard are compared to "travellers in a

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foreign land." Cortius cites in explanation a passage from Zeno of Verona, (*Serm.* 32) "*Sed qui sunt praetereuntes, nisi qui peregrinantes corporalis vitae saeculum transeunt.*" 2

15. *Quibus, profecto,* &c. "Unto whom, certainly in opposition to the views of nature, &c."——16. *juxta,* "alike," i. e. as equally unimportant.——17. *quoniam de utraque siletur,* "since silence is preserved respecting each," i. e. since they leave no memorial of their having ever existed.

18. *Frui anima,* "to enjoy his rational nature," i. e. to answer the end of his existence.——19. *qui, aliquo negotio intentus,* &c., "who, in whatever employment he may be engaged, seeks for the reputation attendant on some praiseworthy deed or the exercise of some useful talent."

20. *In magna copia rerum,* "in the great variety of employments."——21. *aliud alii,* compare note 6, page 2.

22. *Bene dicere,* equivalent to *eloquentiam exercere.* Eloquence was one of the surest passports to office among the Romans.——23. *absurdum.* This term was originally applied to any harsh and disagreeable sound, ("*Vox quae surdis auribus audiri digna est,*") and subsequently to any thing devoid of merit and unworthy of notice. *Haud absurdum est* may therefore be rendered, "is no contemptible acquirement."

24. *Et qui fecere,* &c. Compare Pliny (*Ep.* 6. 16. 3.) "*Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda; beatissimos vero quibus utrumque.*" ——25. *tamen etsi,* an archaism for *tametsi.*

26. *Auctorem rerum,* "the actor." Some editions have *actorem rerum:* both lections occur in manuscripts. Compare Velleius Paterculus (2. 120.6.) "*Praeclari facinoris auctor fuit Caldus Coelius,*" &c.——27. *res gestas,* "an historical narrative."——28. *dictis,* "by the style." Livy has an expression similar to that in the text, in which, however, *dicta* is used in its original meaning; "*facta dictis aequando*" (6. 20.)

29. *Putant.* The manuscripts vary, some inserting *dicta* before *putant,* others *ducta,* &c. We have followed the reading of Cortius. The ellipsis is to be supplied by *reprehendisse,* which is in fact expressed in one of the manuscripts. Sallust appears to have borrowed the idea in the text from Thucy-

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2 dides, (2. 35.) Ὅ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὔνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄν τι ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεταί τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι· ὅ τε ἄπειρος, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. Μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι, ὧν ἤκουσε.

30. *Ubi de magna virtute*, &c. "When you make mention of the distinguished merit and glory of illustrious men," &c.

3 1. *Supra ea*, "Whatever things go beyond this," or, "all beyond this."

2. *Studio ad rempublicam*, &c. "Was led by the ardour of youth to turn my attention to public affairs," i. e. to become a candidate for public office.——3. *ibique*, "and in this career."——4. *Nam pro pudore*, &c. *Pudor* is here opposed to *audacia*, *avaritia* to *abstinentia*, and *largitio* to *virtus*.——5. *insolens malarum artium*, "unaccustomed to evil practices."

6. *Reliquorum*, &c. We have followed the reading of Havercamp and Burnouf. The Bipont text has *reliquis* and *qua ceteros*, by which *eadem fama* and *invidia* become ablatives In our lection *fama* and *invidia* are likewise ablatives, but *eadem* is in the nominative agreeing with *cupido*. The whole passage may be rendered as follows: "And, though I was uncontaminated by the evil principles of others, nevertheless the same desire of advancement disquieted me, by reason of the obloquy and odium that accompanied it, which disquieted the rest." i. e. Standing forth as a candidate for public honours, I shared the fate of others: my character was assailed with obloquy, and an attempt was made by my political opponents to render me an object of popular odium. De Brosses thinks that Sallust here endeavours to offer a plausible excuse for his recent and disgraceful expulsion from the senate.

7. *Ex multis miseriis*, &c., "from the many miseries and dangers by which it had been encompassed."

8. *Bonum otium*, "valuable leisure."——9. *servilibus officiis*, "mere corporeal employments." The phrase is here used in allusion to the expression in the first chapter, "*animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur.*" The charge therefore which some bring against Sallust, of his stigmatizing agriculture and

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hunting as employments fit only for slaves, rests on an entirely erroneous acceptation of the epithet *servilibus*. 3

10. *Studio.* Cortius considers *studio* as having reference to historical labours. We would rather, with Dahl, extend the term to "liberal studies" generally, so as to embrace the literature both of Greece and Rome, especially the former.

11. *Carptim,* "in detached portions." Compare Pliny (*Ep.* 8. 4, 7.) "*Respondebis, non posse perinde carptim, ut contexta, perinde inchoata placere, ut effecta,*" and Tacitus (*Hist.* 4. 46. *extr.*) The term is sometimes used in the sense of *breviter,* as in Pliny (*Ep.* 6. 22. 2.) "*egit autem carptim et κατὰ κεφάλαια,*" (i. e. *breviter et summatim.*) Some editions of Sallust have *strictim,* "cursorily," in place of *carptim;* but this reading carries with it its own refutation. From this passage of Sallust it appears that the history of Catiline's conspiracy was his first literary production.

12. *Partibus reipublicae,* "the factions which agitated the republic." Dahl is of opinion, that, from the language of the text, Sallust must have composed this narrative after his return from the government of Numidia; since, to suppose with some commentators that the work was written at the time of his expulsion from the senate (A. U. C. 703) does not harmonise with the expressions, "*a spe, metu, &c. animus liber erat.*" *vid.* Remarks on the Life and Writings of Sallust, p. 138.

13. *Paucis absolvam,* Understand *narrationem.*

14. *Nobili genere natus.* Catiline was the last of the *gens Sergia,* a patrician house. Of his father and grandfather little is known: the former would seem to have been in indigent circumstances, from the language of Quintus Cicero (*de petitione consulatus,* c. 2.) who speaks of Catiline as having been born amid the poverty of his father, (*in patris egestate.*) The great grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, or Silo, distinguished himself greatly in the second Punic war, and was present in the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, Trasymenus, and Cannæ. Pliny (H. N. 7. 29.) speaks of him in the following animated strain: "*M. Sergio, ut quidem arbitror, nemo quenquam hominum jure praetulerit: licet pronepos Catilina gratiam nomini deroget. Secundo stipendio dextram manum perdidit: stipendiis duobus ter*

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3 *et vicies vulneratus est: ob id neutra manu, neutro pede satis utilis: uno tantum servo, plurimis postea stipendiis debilis miles. Bis ab Hannibale captus, (neque enim cum quolibet hoste res fuit:) bis vinculorum ejus profugus, viginti mensibus nullo non die in catenis aut compedibus custoditus. Sinistra manu sola quater pugnavit, duobus equis insidente eo suffossis. Dextram sibi ferream fecit, eaque religata proeliatus. Cremonam obsidione exemit, Placentiam tutatus est: duodena castra hostium in Gallia cepit: quae omnia ex oratione ejus apparent, habita cum in praetura sacris arceretur a collegis, ut debilis. Quos hic coronarum acervos constructurus hoste mutato? Etenim plurimum refert, in quae cujusque virtus tempora inciderit. Quas Trebia, Ticinusve, aut Trasymenus civicas dedere? Quae Cannis corona merita? unde fugisse virtutis summum opus fuit. Celeri profecto victores hominum fuere, Sergius vicit etiam fortunam.*" We have given this long passage entire, for the purpose of showing the remarkable contrast between the individual of whom it speaks and his great grandson Catiline. The father of M. Sergius, who bore the same name, was prætor A. U. C. 555. (Compare *Livy*, 32. 27. seqq. and 33. 21.) Virgil traces the Sergian house to the Trojan Sergestus, "*Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sérgia nomen*," (*Aen*. 5. 121.) and Juvenal speaks both of Catiline and Cethegus, as being the descendants of ancient and noble families: (*Sat*. 8. 231.)

> "*Quid Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi*
> *Inveneril quisquam sublimius?*"——————

It may not be amiss to mention here a few circumstances relative to the history of Catiline's life previous to the period of his conspiracy. In the contest between Marius and Sylla he sided with the latter, and served as *Quæstor* in his army, which could not have proved a very favourable school for virtue. On the success of Sylla's party, Catiline took a very active part in the horrid excesses which ensued; gratifying at one time, his own private resentments by bringing his enemies to punishment, and executing at another the bloody mandates of the Dictator himself Many citizens of noble birth are said

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by Quintus Cicero (*de petit. cons.* c. 23.) to have fallen by his hand; and, according to Plutarch, (*vit. Syll.* c. 32. *ed. Hutten.* vol. 3. p. 230.—*vit. Cic.* c. 10. vol. 5. p. 319.) he had assassinated his own brother during the civil war, and now, to screen himself from prosecution, persuaded Sylla to put him among the proscribed, as a person still alive. He murdered too, with his own hands, his sister's husband, a Roman knight, of a mild and peaceable character. (" *equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, cum semper natura, tum etiam aetate jam quietum.*" *Q. Cic. de petit. cons.* c. 3.) One of the most horrid actions, however, of which he was guilty, would seem to have been the killing of M. Marius Gratidianus, a near relation of the celebrated Marius. Sylla had put the name of this individual on the list of the proscribed, whereupon Catiline entered the dwelling of the unfortunate man, exhausted upon his person all the refinements of cruelty and insult, and having at last put an end to his existence, carried his bloody head in triumph through the streets of Rome, and brought it to Sylla as he sat upon his tribunal in the Forum. When this was done, the murderer washed his hands in the lustral water at the door of Apollo's temple, which stood in the immediate vicinity. (Compare Seneca, *de Ira*, 3. 18. where an account is given more in detail, of the cruelties inflicted on Gratidianus.) Catiline, as might well be expected, did not fail, by means of these excesses, to obtain the favourable notice of the tyrant. In the year of the city, 686, he was made Prætor at Rome, and in the following year governor in Africa, where his extortion and infamous conduct exposed him to the detestation of all. On his return to Rome he was accused of mal-administration in his province, but escaped by bribery. 3

15. *Sed ingenio malo pravoque*, "but of a wicked and depraved spirit." The epithet *pravus* is originally applied to any thing crooked or misshapen, and then figuratively to the moral character. We have an instance of its primitive acceptation in Cicero (*Acad.* 4. 11.) " *Interesse oportet ut inter rectum et pravum, sic inter verum et falsum.*" As regards the term *ingenium*, it may be remarked that it denotes the native qualities of the whole soul, and not merely those of the intellect.

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3 That it is applied to the powers of the understanding is universally admitted; that it also denotes the moral qualities of the soul, the present passage of Sallust will clearly prove. To place the point, however, beyond all doubt, we may refer to the following authorities: *Ter. Eun.* 5. 2. 41. *Id. ibid.* 4. 7. 42. *Curtius,* 8. 2. 16. *Val. Max.* 2. 7. *Suet. vit. Calig.* 27. "I am therefore inclined to think," observes Crombie, from whom the above remarks are taken, "that *ingenium* denotes "*quicquid est ingenitum,*" or "*natura ingenita,*" and is applied to the native qualities of the whole soul, those of the heart as well as those of the head; but, as Hill correctly observes, without any reference to their corruption, or improvement; their probable increase or diminution." *Crombie's Gymnasium, vol* 2, *p.* 73, seqq. 3d ed.

16. *Adolescentia,* "his earlier years." "According to the most correct Roman writers," observes my very learned friend E. H. Barker, Esq., "human life was divided into four stages of fifteen years each: thus *pueritia* was within 15: *adolescentia* within 30; *juventus* within 45; and *senectus* comprised the remaining period of life." Compare *Classical Journal,* vol. 1, p. 473. *Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 1, p. 160. 3d *ed.*

17. *Ibique.* Elegantly used for *in iis rebus.* Compare Cic. (*pro Rosc. Am.* c. 29.) "*Si quid est, quod Erucius ad testes reservet, ibi nos quoque, ut in ipsa causa, paratiores reperiet, quam putabat.*" So also *Cic. de Off.* 3. 9. *Liv.* 40. 46.

18. *Patiens.* The verbal adjective, distinguished from the participle by its particular government: thus *patiens inediae,* "able to endure want of food," referring to a habit; *patiens inediam,* "suffering want of food," referring to a particular point of time. So also *doctus linguam Latinam,* "one who has been taught the Latin language;" *doctus linguae Latinae,* "one skilled in Latin."

19. *Varius,* "capable of assuming any shape." Compare the picture drawn by Cicero, (*pro Coel.* 6.) "*Illa vero in illo homine* (sc. Catilina) *mirabilia fuerunt. . . . . versare suam naturam, et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere: cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audaciter, cum*

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*libidinosis luxuriose vivere. Hac ille tam varia, multiplicique natura, cum omnes omnibus ex terris homines improbos, audacesque collegerat: tum etiam multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis assimulatae tenebat."* 3

20. *Simulator.* The verb *simulare*, whence this noun is formed, means "to pretend to be what we are not;" but *dissimulare*, "to dissemble, or conceal what we are." It is the character of hypocrisy to pretend to virtues which it has not, (*simulare*), and to dissemble the vices which it has, (*dissimulare*).

21. *Satis loquentiae*, "possessing fluency of speech enough." Several editions have *eloquentiae*, but this would be too strong here, although the reading appears in a majority of the MSS. The distinction between *loquentia* and *eloquentia* is well pointed out in the following extract from Pliny (*Ep.* 5. 20.) "*Julius Candidus non invenuste solet dicere aliud esse eloquentiam, aliud loquentiam. Nam eloquentia vix uni, aut alteri; haec vero quam Candidus loquentiam appellat, multis, etiam impudentissimo cuique maxime contingit.*" We may compare with this the words of Gellius, (1. 15. *extr.*) "*Valerium Probum, grammaticum illustrem, ex familiari ejus, docto viro comperi, Sallustianum illud (in Catil.* c. 5.) *Satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum, brevi antequam vita decederet, sic legere coepisse, et sic a Sallustio relictum affirmasse:* Satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum: *quod* loquentia *novatori verborum Sallustio maxime congrueret;* eloquentia *cum insipientia minime conveniret.*"

22. *Vastus animus*, "his insatiable spirit." Dureau de Lamalle renders it "son ambition immoderée."

1. *Post dominationem.* This expression is equivalent, not to *finita dominatione*, but *ab eo tempore quo dominari coeperat.* The preposition must therefore be rendered by "*since.*" 4

2. *Lucii Sullae.* Sylla was a Roman of Patrician rank, who served at first under Marius in the Jugurthine war. His activity and address contributed greatly to bring the war to a successful termination. Marius became at last jealous of Sylla's merit, and hence originated that quarrel between them which was productive of the most enormous cruelties, and led to the final extinction of Roman liberty. Sylla, on gain-

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4 ing the ascendancy, assumed the reins of absolute government, and became perpetual dictator. After glutting his vengeance with the blood of thousands, and ruling with despotic sway for three years, he resigned his power, and lived undisturbed as a private citizen. He died in great torments of the *morbus pedicularis*, in the 60th year of his age, about 78 B. C. His death was hastened by habits of perpetual intoxication, in which he probably indulged to avoid the horrors of remorse.

3. *Quidquam pensi habebat*, "did he at all regard."——4. *his artibus*, "by those practices."——5. *quos pessuma*, &c. Cortius refers *quos*, by synesis, to *civitatem* put for *cives;* it is better, however, to make *mores* the antecedent. "On which luxury and cupidity, evils of the most pernicious tendency, and directly opposite in their characters, kept exercising an active influence."

6. *Res ipsa*, "the subject itself."——7. *tempus*, "the occasion."——8. *supra repetere*. Understand *narrationem*.——9. *instituta majorum*, "the principles of government adopted by our forefathers."——10. *quomodo*, &c. "how they governed the republic."

11. *Siculi ego accepi*. We may fairly infer from these words that even in the days of Sallust uncertainty attached itself to the early history of Rome. The origin of the eternal city is lost in fable.

12. *Trojani*. No Trojans ever set foot in Italy; the arrival of Aeneas in that country is purely fabulous. (*vid. Niehbuhr's Roman History*, vol. 1. p. 150. seqq. Hare and Thirlwall's transl.)

13. *Aborigines*, a name given by the Romans to the primitive inhabitants of Italy, and which is supposed to be equivalent to the Greek Αὐτόχθονες. The old and genuine name, however, was *Casci*. Thus Saufeius (*in Serv. ad Aen.* 1. 10.) observes, "*qui . . . . . Cassei* (read *Casci*) *vocati sunt, quos posteri Aborigines nominaverunt.*" Compare in Ennius, "*Casci populi Latini*," and other passages in Columna (*ad fragm. Ennii*, p. 14. ed, Hess.) If we may be allowed the remark, the word *Casci* would seem to have sprung from the same root whence have originated so many derivative forms in the early

religious and mythological language of the heathen world. 4
(*Asos, Asi, Cauc-Asos, Asia, Jupiter Casius*, Ὅσιοι, &c.) As to the rudeness and barbarism of this early race, it is all conjecture. They were more probably a civilized and sacerdotal colony from the remote east.

14. *Sine imperio*, "without any form of government."——15. *dispari genere*, "though different in origin."——16. *alius alio more viventes*; i. e. *viventes (alio more), alius (vivens) alio more*, "though living each after a different manner."

17. *Res eorum*, "their state."——18. *civibus, moribus*, &c. "increased in number of citizens, improved in manners, and enlarged in territory." The participle assumes a different meaning here with each of the nouns to which it refers. The grammarians call this a Zeugma.——19. *sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur*, "as is the case for the most part with human affairs."——*opulentia*, "prosperity."

20. *Tentare*. The infinitive is here put for the imperfect of the indicative, a practice for which Sallust is perhaps more famed than any other author. Grammarians term it the *historical infinitive*, as being principally used in historical narratives, in order to give an air of rapidity and animation to the sentence. This construction is usually explained by an ellipsis of *coepit* or *coeperunt*, which may often be supplied; in other cases, however, it will not accord with the sense. There appears to be some remote analogy between this usage of the infinitive in Latin, and the idiom of the Greek, by which the same mood, taken as an absolute verbal idea only, is made to stand for the imperative. (*Vid. Rost. G. G.* p. 470. *Matthiæ, G. G. vol.* 2. p. 824, and *Blomfield ad loc.*)

21. *Perculsi*. Other editions have *percussi* which is inferior. Bentley (*ad Horat. Epod.* 11. 3.) correctly lays down the distinction between *percellere* and *percutere*, as follows: "*Utrumque de corpore proprie, de animo* μεταφορικῶς *dicitur*. Percellere *tamen magis quid quam* percutere *significat; tanta scilicet vi percutere, ut evertas et solo prosternas. Ergo in re graviore perculsus aptius vocabulum est;* perculsus terrore, metu, formidine, clade, ruina, damno, discordiis, *passim in auctoribus occurrunt.*"

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4 22. *Festinare, parare,* &c. The infinitive again used for the imperfect of the indicative. Other instances of this construction the student cannot fail to notice for himself. As regards the meaning of the verb *festinare,* Cato (quoted by Aulus Gellius, 14. 16.) remarks: "*Aliud est* properare, *aliud festinare; qui unum quid maturè transigit, is* properat; *qui multa simul incipit, neque perficit, is* festinat." This distinction is not indeed uniformly observed; but one thing is certain, that *festinare,* and not *properare,* is used to express great haste; and that *properare* never signifies "to hurry." *Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2, p. 54. *in notis.*

23. *Auxilia portabant.* An unusual form of expression. The best writers use *ferre* instead of *portare* in such cases.——*magisque dandis,* &c. Compare Thucydides, 2. 40. Οὐ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους.

24. *Legitimum,* "regulated by laws." In contra-distinction to a despotic one.——25. *nomen,* "title."

5 1. *Consultabant,* i. e. *consulere solebant.*——2. *vel aetate,* &c. Niehbuhr cites another explanation of the term *Patres* from Festus: "*Patres senatores ideo appellati sunt, quia agrorum partes attribuebant tenuioribus, perinde ac liberis propriis.*" (i. e. from their paternal care in assigning plots of arable land to the poor folk, as it were to their own children. *Niehbuhr's History of Rome,* vol. 1, p. 281. *Hare and Thirlwall's transl.*)

3. *Conservandae libertatis,* &c. The construction which we have here is not confined to Sallust, but occurs in some of the best writers. "Esse," observes Scheller, in his explanation of it, "is also followed by a genitive, when it means "to be serviceable for," "to be conducive to," instead of the dative, which is more usual; and this genitive is generally accompanied by the future participle passive in *dus:* thus, *Quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae reipublicae fuerat,* (Sall. Cat. 6.) "which had tended originally to the preservation of liberty and the increase of the state." *Qui utrisque* (i. e. patribus et plebi) *utilia ferrent, quaeque aequandae libertatis essent,* "to propose what was advantageous to both parties, and what might serve to equalize their freedom." (*Liv.* 3. 31.) *Quam (concordiam) dissolvendae maxime tribunitiae potestatis*

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*rentur esse*, "which union they think will tend to annihilate the 5
tribunitian power." (Liv. 5. 3.) &c. If these passages be correct, which we must suppose, since they were extracted from good manuscripts by accurate philologists, it may be asked, by what are these genitives governed? Not, apparently, by *causa*: it seems therefore better to understand *negotium* (or *negotia*), e. g. *negotium conservandae libertatis*, &c." (*Scheller L. G.* vol. 1, p. 400. *Walker's transl.*)

4. *Dominationemque*, "and tyranny." The Romans always attached an improper meaning to the term *dominus*, the root of *dominatio*, using it in the sense of "tyrant," "a master of slaves," &c. On this account Augustus refused the name. Compare Dio Cassius (55. 12.) δεσπότης τότε ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὀνομασθεὶς, οὐχ ὅπως ἀπεῖπε μηδένα τούτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσρήματι χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸ ἐποιήσατο. So also Suetonius (*Aug.* 53.) *Domini appellationem, ut maledictum et opprobrium, semper exhorruit.*" Oros. (6. 22.) "*Domini appellationem ut homo declinavit.*"

5. *Convertit.* Understand *sese*, "changed."—6. *annua imperia*, &c. "annual offices of magistracy, and two chief magistrates." The term *imperium*, in its stricter acceptation, accords better with the character of the early consulship, than with the form it assumed after the successive encroachments of the plebeian power. From the law given by Cicero, in his own plan of a well-ordered state, and which is taken with some slight alteration from one of the old laws of Rome, an idea may be formed of what he considered the genuine definition of the consular power. "*Regio imperio duo sunto: iique praeeundo, judicando, consulendo, praetores, judices, consules appellantor. Militiae summum jus habento, nemini parento. Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto.*" (*Cic. de leg.* 3. 3. 8. *ed. Gocrenz.*)

7. *Insolescere*, "grow haughty." Compare Florus (1. 9.) "*Ex perpetuo annuum (imperium) placuit; ex singulari duplex: ne potestas solitudine vel mora corrumperetur.*" And also Eutropius (1. 8.) "*Hinc consules coepere pro uno rege duo hac causa creari, ut, si unus malus esse voluisset, alter eum, habens potestatem similem, coerceret: Et placuit ne imperium longius, quam*

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5 *annum unum haberent; ne per diuturnitatem potestatis insolentiores redderentur, sed civiles semper essent, qui se post annum scirent futuros esse privatos."* (*vid. Tzschucke ad loc.*)

8. *Sed.* The connection between the commencement of this chapter and what precedes, is as follows: *Dum reges imperium habebant, nemo se extollere audebat et laborabat. Sed postquam libertas populo restituta, quisque gloriam quaerere et ingenium prompte agendo ostendere coepit.*——*ea tempestate*, "at that particular period." *Tempestas* and *tempus* very often differ like καιρος and χρονος in Greek, the former being limited to a more definite and particular period of time than the latter. Ὁ μὲν Καιρὸς δηλοῖ ποιότητα χρόνου, οἷον, ὅτε πόλεμος ἦν· Χρόνος δὲ ποσότητα, οἷον, πρὸ δέκα χρόνων, ἢ, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη. (*Ammonius περὶ διαφ. λεξ. ed. Valck.*)

9. *Coepere se quisque extollere*, &c. "each one began to act with redoubled energy, and to display more openly the abilities which he possessed." The common text has *magis* before *extollere*, which we have rejected with Cortius as savouring of a gloss.——10. *boni*, "the talented."——*mali*, "those of inferior intellects."

11. *Adepta libertate. Adipiscor*, being a common verb, admits both this construction, as well as *adepta libertatem* with *adepta* in the nominative. It remains to be seen whether the Latin deponents be not in fact middle verbs, and whether the existence of common verbs be not a strong collateral proof of this.

12. *Simul* for *simul ac.* Compare Livy, (9. 26.) *intellecturosque id ita esse, simul magistratu abissent.* The common text of Sallust has *simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat.* The reading which we have adopted is given by Cortius partly from manuscripts and partly from conjecture.——13. *belli.* Military service among the Romans commenced at 17 years of age, and ended at 46, or, if we follow Livy, (42. 33.) at 50 years. *vid. Lips. de Milit. Rom. dial.* 2.

14. *Per usum*, "by experience," or "actual service."——15. *militaribus equis*, "war-horses."

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16. *Labos*. The Æolo-Doric tribes were fond of ῥ, as the 5
Lacedaemonians, who said ἵππορ, πόρ, σίορ, for ἵππος, ποῦς, θεός, &c. Hence we may account for the Latin forms *labor* and *labos*, *honor* and *honos*, &c. *vid. Maittaire Dial. ed. Sturz.* p. 196.——17. *virtus omnia domuerat*, "their valour had triumphed over every obstacle."

18. *Sese quisque*, &c. Compare note 3, page 1.——19. *tale facinus*, "such an exploit." *Facinus* from *facere*, denotes "a bold or daring action;" and, unless it be joined with a favourable epithet, or the action be previously described as commendable, the term is always to be understood in a vituperative sense. In the present case, the previous description of the action fixes its character. (*vid. Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 159. 3d *ed.*)

20. *Eas divitias*, &c. "these they considered riches, this an honourable fame, &c."——21. *divitias honestas*, "moderate wealth." The expression *divitias honestas* is the same as *divitias bonis artibus partas, adeoque mediocres.*

22. *Maxumas*, an archaism for *maximas*.——23. *ni ea res*, &c. "were it not that such a detail would draw me off too far from my subject." *Ea res* is regarded by some as an archaism for *id*, but this mode of expression occurs in the best writers, though Sallust uses it more frequently than others.

24. *Res cunctas*, for *cuncta*. *vid.* preceding note.——*ex lubidine*, "from caprice."——25. *celebrat obscuratque*, "raises to eminence or buries in oblivion." Compare *Jug.* 85. *Haec atque talia majores vestri faciundo, seque remque publicam celebravere.*——26. *aestumo*, an archaism for *aestimo*. Some editions read *existimo*.

1. *Scriptorum magna ingenia.* More elegant than *scriptores* 6
*magni ingenii*, which is, however, the meaning of the phrase: "writers of great talent." Compare Curtius, (3. 2. 13.) *robora virorum*, for *viri robustissimi*, and Catullus (64. 4.) *robora pubis*, for *adolescentes robusti.* The writers to whom Sallust alludes are, without doubt, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, &c. Some critics have regarded *scriptorum* in this passage as a mere gloss, especially as some manuscripts omit it, and

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6 others place it after *ingenia*, but its presence is necessary to the sense.

2. *Eam*, Referring to *virtutem* understood. Some editors read *ea*, understanding *facta.*——3. *ea copia*, "that advantage." Kuhnhardt thinks *copia* equivalent here to *multitudo*, but incorrectly we conceive. If his explanation, however, should be preferred, *ea copia* may be rendered, "the same number of able historians."——4. *prudentissimus quisque*, &c., "the most talented were the most occupied with public affairs."——5. *ingenium nemo*, &c. Referring to the martial habits of the early Romans, and the military service which was imposed upon all. ——6. *optumus quisque*, "the best citizens."——7. *benefacta*, "brave deeds."

8. *Igitur*. This conjunction refers back to chapter 7, from which chapter 8 is a digression.——9. *jus bonumque*, "justice and probity." The expression which follows, *non legibus magis quam natura*, is strictly Thucydidean, and would be, when rendered into Greek, οὐ νόμοις μᾶλλον (or τὸ πλεῖον) ἢ φύσει. Compare the language of Tacitus (*de moribus Germ.* 19.) "*plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges*," and also Virgil (*Aen.* 7. 202.)

> ———————— "*Neve ignorate Latinos*
> *Saturni gentem, haud vinclo nec legibus aequam,*
> *Sponte sua, veterisque dei se more tenentem.*"

10. *Jurgia*, &c. *cum hostibus exercebant*. In opposition to later days when citizen was arrayed against citizen.——11. *suppliciis*, "worship." *Supplicium* signifies both "punishment" and "supplication," "worship," or "sacrifice." Scheller's explanation is perfectly satisfactory. He makes the primitive import of the term, "a kneeling down." This may be done either to supplicate the deity, whence we have the kindred meaning of "religious worship;" or it may be for the purpose of being beheaded, whence we deduce the meaning of "punishment." (*Scheller, Lateinisch-Deutsches Worterb.* s. v.)

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12. *In amicis.* Havercamp reads *in amicos,* which is the more usual form, though less in accordance with the style of Sallust. 6

13. *Ubi pax evenerat.* Sallust uses this mode of expression and not *in pace,* for the purpose of showing that the Romans neither avoided war nor courted peace; but, whenever the latter chanced to arrive, proved themselves not unworthy of enjoying it, by the justice and moderation of their conduct. ——14. *seque remque publicam,* &c., "they regulated their own conduct as well as the administration of the republic."

15. *Quod saepius,* &c. Some editions have *in bello* before *saepius.* We have rejected it with Cortius as being sufficiently implied from the context.——16. *quam metu.* Understand *magis,* which is expressed in some editions.——17. *agitabant,* for *agebant.* *vid.* note 20, page 1. *Imperium agitabant,* "they managed their authority."

18. *Reges magni,* Perses, king of Macedonia: Jugurtha, king of Numidia: Mithridates, king of Pontus, &c.——19. *populi,* "communities."

20. *Carthago,* a celebrated city of Africa, built by a colony of Phoenicians under Dido, and famed for its long and sanguinary contests with the Romans. (*vid. Carthago,* and *Punicum Bellum,* Lempriere's Class. Dict. Anthon's ed.) The name of the city is of Phoenician origin, *Carthada,* i. e. "the new city," from the Syriac *Karthahadath* or *Kartha-hadtha.* Hence Solinus observes, "*Carthadam* dixit, quod Phoenicum ore exprimit novam civitatem," and also Eustathius, Ἐκάλεσε τῇ Λιβύων φωνῇ Καινὴν πόλιν. To the same effect are the words of Stephanus Byzantinus, Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καινὴ πόλις. The Greeks changed Carthada into Καρχηδὼν, while they called the inhabitants Καρχηδόνιοι. (Compare the Sicilian usage of χ for ϑ, e. g. ὄρνιχες for ὄρνιθες. *Salmas. in Solin.* p. 322.) The Latin form *Carthago* came to the Romans through the medium of the Spaniards, as Bochart states. ("Ab Hispanis interpolatum, quibus *gama* est dama, et *golphin* delphin, et *tortuga* testudo." *Bochart. Geog. Sacr.* 1. 24.) As the Romans were acquainted with the Carthaginians before they met them in

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6 Spain, we feel very doubtful as to the accuracy of Bochart's remark, if we rightly understand its meaning.

21. *Optandae.* Agrees with *divitiae*, the nearest noun.——22. *ea*, referring to "cupidity" and "thirst for dominion:" *pecuniae et imperii cupido.*

7 1. *Materies*, "the germ."——2. *artis bonas*, "virtues."——3. *neglegere*, an archaism for *negligere*. The infinitives *neglegere* and *habere* depend on *edocuit* in common with *superbiam* and *crudelitatem*, "The neglect of the Gods, universal venality."——4. *falsos*, "treacherous," or, "insincere

5. *Aliud clausum in pectore*, &c. Compare Homer, *Il.* 9. 313.

> Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,
> Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.

and the spirited version of Voss:

> "*Denn mir verhasst ist jener, so sehr wie des Aïdes pforten,*
> *Wer ein anderes birgt in der brust, und ein anderes aussagt.*"

6. *Ex re*, "from their real importance."——7. *magisque vultum*, &c., "and to preserve rather a fair exterior than rectitude of principle."——8. *post, ubi*, &c. Great doubt prevails respecting the true punctuation of this sentence. We have adopted that which is given by Cortius, making *contagio* an ablative from the old form *contagium*: (*Contagio quasi*, "by a sort of moral contagion.") The Bipont edition removes the comma after *quasi*, placing one after *contagio*, and another after *pestilentia*. *Contagio* then becomes the nominative to *invasit*. In either reading, *contagio* has *vitiorum* understood.

9. *Virtutem.* Governed by *ad* understood. The preposition is supplied in Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 4. 6. 55. "Si accesserit prope ad te," and *Mostell.* 2. 2. 30. "Fuge ad me propius." Some editions of Sallust give *virtuti*, which makes no alteration in the meaning.

10. *Bonus, ignavus*, "the man of merit, and he who is devoid of it."——11. *vera via*, "by the true path," i. e. by

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honourable means.——12. *studium habet*, "implies the desire." 7

13. *Venenis malis*, "with poisons." *Venenum*, like *facinus*, &c., is what the Grammarians call *medium nomen*. It properly signifies "that which by its penetrating influence changes the natural qualities of any thing." As this may be either beneficial or injurious, *venenum* hence may indicate in the latter case "a poison," and in the former, "a drug," "a medicine," "a colouring matter." In this passage Sallust uses the term in its strict acceptation, and therefore adds the qualifying adjective; so that *venenis malis*, when literally rendered, will signify "with pernicious (or poisonous) drugs." i. e. poisons. This, after all, however, is somewhat of an affected archaism on the part of our historian, since the purest Latin writers are accustomed to use the word *venenum*, when standing alone, in a bad sense, without employing any adjective. The old form of expression occurs in a law cited by Cicero (*pro Cluent.* 54.) "Qui venenum malum fecit," &c. (Compare Ernesti and Schütz, *Index Lat. Cic. s. v.*) The term φάρμακον is another well known instance of a *medium nomen*. Herodotus uses it to express colours. (1. 98.) προμαχεῶνες ἤνθισμένοι φαρμάκοισι. *vid. Koen, ad Greg. Dialect.* (*Ion.* 94.) and *Schweigh. Lex. Herod. s. v.*

14. *Neque copia*, &c. The idea intended to be conveyed is this: He who possesses much is as strongly influenced by the desire of having more, as he whose present resources are scanty; and while want urges on the latter, the possession of abundant means does not quench the thirst for gain in the former. The desire of wealth makes both of them its slaves.

15. *Recepta republica*, "having wrested the state from the hands of his opponents." Alluding to Sylla's final overthrow of the Marian faction.——16. *ex bonis initiis*, &c., "caused a fair beginning to be succeeded by an evil issue." The first acts of Sylla, upon his attaining to the unlimited controul of the state, augured well for its interests. He favoured the party of the nobility, which Marius, plebeian in origin, had always sought to depress, and he seemed on the point also of reviving

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7 the ancient constitution. The mask, however, was soon dropped, and the most horrid excesses ensued. Compare Velleius Paterculus, 2. 25. "*Putares Sullam venisse in Italiam, non belli vindicem, sed pacis auctorem,*" &c., and also Cicero, (*de Off.* 2. 8.) "*Secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria.*"

17. *Rapere omnes*, &c. *Rapere, trahere*, &c. are historical infinitives, and may be made to depend on *coeperunt* understood, if such an ellipsis be thought adviseable. (vid. page 4. note 20.) As regards the scenes mentioned in the text, compare Plutarch (*vit. Syll.* 31. *ed. Hulten.* vol. 3. p. 230.) 'Αλλὰ καὶ λέγειν 'επήει τοῖς κολάζουσιν, ὡς τόνδε μὲν ἀνήρηκεν οἰκία μεγάλη, τόνδε δὲ κῆπος, ἄλλον ὕδατα θερμά.

18. *Neque modum*, &c., "the victors knew no limit, and practised no self-restraint."——19. *in civibus*. The common text has *in cives*. The present reading was first given by Wasse, from a manuscript. "*Pereleganter*," observes the critic in speaking of this lection, "*nescio an vere, certe supra captum librariorum*. He then refers in support of it to *Virgil. Aen.* 2. 540. *Ovid. Met.* 1. 442. *Cic. N. D.* 42, &c.——20. *quem in Asia ductaverat*. Cortius reads *Asiam*, giving *in* the force of *intra*.

21. *Amoena*. *Amoenus* most commonly denotes what is pleasing to the eye, while *voluptarius* properly refers to the senses. The expressions in the text may be rendered as follows: "a delightful country, the abode of pleasure."——22. *amare, potare*, "to indulge in the excesses of licentiousness and intoxication." *Potare* is "to drink to excess," "to be addicted to drinking." "*Bibunt* sobrii, ad naturae necessitatem; *potant* ebriosi affluenter, et ad ebrietatem." (Popma.) As Sallust means to say that the Roman soldiers had acquired in Asia the habit of drinking to excess, *bibere* would evidently have been inadmissible in the text.

23. *Privatim ac publice*, "whether the property of individuals or communities."——24. *delubra*. *Delubrum*, properly speaking, is merely a small chapel, or part of a temple; or, as Noltenius (*Lex. Antibarb.*) defines it, "*Aedicula, in qua stat Dei cujusdam simulacrum; parvum templum, vel pars templi.*" The capitol was called *Templum*, in which there were three

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*Delubra* inclosed by a common wall, namely Jupiter's, Juno's, 7
and Minerva's. In this passage of Sallust, the word may be rendered "shrines."

1. *Fatigant.* A strong expression: *sapientium animos fatigant,* "shakes the principles of the wise."——2. *ne,* used for 8
*nedum,* "much less." *Temperare* with the dative, signifies "to set bounds to something," "to moderate." With the accusative it means "to regulate," "to arrange."

3. *Postquam,* &c. Compare Sallust, (*Ep.* 2. *de rep. ordin.* c. 6.) "*Ubi divitiae clarae habentur, ibi omnia bona vilia sunt, fides, probitas, pudor, pudicitia.*" and also Juvenal (*Sat.* 6. 294.)

> "*Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo*
> *Paupertas Romana perit.*"——

4. *Innocentia,* &c., "a life of innocence in another was regarded as the mere offspring of a malevolent feeling." i. e. they gave him who led a virtuous life no credit for sincerity, but supposed him to be actuated merely by a spirit of malevolent opposition, and a wish to set his own mode of life in direct contrast with that of the profligate, in order that it might carry with it a tacit censure on the conduct of the latter.

5. *Rapere, consumere,* "they plundered, they wasted."——6. *pudorem, pudicitiam,* &c. "Modesty, chastity, things divine and human without distinction, they utterly disregarded, and in their violation of them acted without the least compunction or self-restraint." Seneca (*de Benef.* 1. 9.) has borrowed some of his ideas and expressions from this and the preceding passages of Sallust. "*Jam rapta spargere, sparsa pari avaritia recolligere certant: nihil pensi habere, paupertatem alienam contemnere, suam timere, nullum aliud vereri malum:*" &c.

7. *Verum.* This term is used here to denote strong indignation. Compare the remarks of Drakenborch (*ad Liv.* 45. 19.) on the emphatic *vero.*——8. *sua.* Some editions read *suas,* which is inferior in point of strength.

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8 9. *praeter injuriae licentiam,* "except the power of injuring."

10. *victores.* Some manuscripts have *victis* instead of *victores,* but the former is implied in the latter, and therefore need not be expressed. Other manuscripts give *hostibus,* but this again is already implied in the term *sociis.* "*Quasi socios istos,*" observes Cortius, "*non olim hostes fuisse, per se constet.*"

11. *Constructa,* "built up," or "constructed." The historian refers to the *piscinae,* or fish-ponds, which the wealthy Romans caused to be formed, generally on the sea-shore, by the damming-up of the waters, and which were commonly of such vast dimensions as almost to deserve the name of seas. Some editions, however, read *constrata,* "built upon," referring to the splendid residences of many of the Roman nobility, built on large artificial moles projecting into the sea. *Contracta,* which other manuscripts present, is probably a mere gloss. If otherwise considered, it may be supposed to allude to the encroachments made upon the limits of the ocean by these moles and marine palaces. Compare, as regards this last reading, Horace, (*Carm.* 3. 1. 33.) "*Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt,*" &c.

12. *Turpidinem,* an old form for *turpitudinem.* The nominative *turpido* occurs in Tertullian (*de cor. mil.* c. 14.) "*Turpido et dedecoratio.*" Gesner, however, thinks this an error for *turpitudo,* but without any necessity.

13. *Cultus,* "luxurious habits."

14. *vescendi causa,* "for the sake of gratifying the appetite."

15. *luxu,* "by luxurious indulgence." On this whole passage, compare Seneca, (*Epist.* 89. *ad fin.*) Aulus Gellius (7. 16.) in his extract from Varro's Satire περὶ ἐδεσμάτων, and Lucan, (4. 373.)

——————— "*O prodiga rerum*
*Luxuries, numquam parvo contenta paratu,*
*Et quaesitorum terra pelagoque ciborum*
*Ambitiosa fames.*"———————

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16. *Lubidinibus.* More commonly written *libidinibus.* 8
The whole clause may be rendered as follows: "The heart, corrupted by evil inclinations, could not easily forego the gratification of its vicious propensities."

1. *In tanta tamque corrupta civitate,* &c. The student 9
will observe with what peculiar force the mention of Catiline's conspiracy is re-introduced after the masterly picture of Roman corruption which has just preceded.

2. *Flagitiorum atque facinorum.* For *flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum,* the abstract for the concrete. "Of all kinds of profligate and daring spirits." *Facinus,* as we have already observed in a previous note, means a bold or daring action. *Flagitium,* though generally referring to lustful excess, denotes any fault, error, or crime, which reflects more or less disgrace on the offender; and implies a less degree of moral guilt than *scelus.* (*Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2, p. 162. 3d ed.)

3. *Quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret,* "in order to purchase impunity for some disgraceful or daring offence."

4. *convicti judiciis,* "persons convicted on trial."

5. *quos manus,* &c. *Manus* refers to *sanguine civili, lingua* to *perjurio.* Compare Cicero (2. *in Cat.* 4.) "*Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur?*"

6. *Proxumi familiaresque* "bosom friends and intimate companions."

7. *inciderat,* a metaphor taken from prey that falls into the trap or net of the hunter.

8. *par similisque. Par* refers to quantity, *similis* to quality: hence the clause may be rendered, "as guilty and as vicious as himself." "*Par* and *similis,*" observes Hill, "are often found qualifying one subject, and are allied as denoting progress in their respective categories of quantity and quality. We find an expression approved of by one of the ablest critics of antiquity, in which the difference between *par* and *similis* has got his sanction, and is very clearly and happily

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9 couched. Speaking of Sallust and Livy, he says, "*mihi egregie dixisse videtur Servilius Novianus, pares eos magis quam similes.*" (*Quintil.* 10. 1.) Their merit, as historians, he insinuates, might bear a comparison, as coming near the same standard, but the particular talents that constituted this merit were by no means like. Livy also supports the distinction stated, in the following sentence, "*Haerente adhuc memoria Macedonici triumphi Lucius Anicius triumphavit de rege Gentio. Similia omnia magis visa hominibus quam paria.*" (*Liv.* 45. 43.) The circumstances in which Anicius and Aemilius were placed were by no means the same; and, from the superior advantages enjoyed by the latter, his conquests were proportionably more important, and his triumph more splendid. Still, however, men compared the exploits and the reward of the conquerors, which, it appeared, were similar in kind, but were not to be measured by one rule." (*Hill's Synonyms,* p. 49, 4to. ed. 1804.)

9. *aetate fluxi,* "pliant in consequence of their years."

10. *modestiae suae,* "his own honour."

11. *obnoxios,* "dependant upon." *Obnoxius* properly denotes a dependance founded upon a consciousness of crime, and a dread of being exposed to punishment in case we disobey him who is privy to our guilt.

12. *Cum virgine nobili.* Who the female here alluded to was is not clearly ascertained. It is generally thought that the historians of those times suppressed the name out of respect for the noble lineage to which she belonged. The daughter who was the offspring of this intercourse is spoken of by Plutarch, (*vit. Cic.* 10. *ed. Hutten.* vol. 5, p. 318.) and is referred to by Cicero (*frag. orat. in tog. cand.* ed *Ernesti,* vol. 7, p. 1052.) "*Cum ex eodem stupro,*" &c.

13. *Sacerdote Vestae.* The vestal of whom mention is here made was Fabia Terentia. She was brought to trial by Clodius for a violation of her vow. Several of the most respectable citizens, however, either convinced of her innocence, or wishing to thwart the tribune, exerted themselves in her defence with such success, that she not only obtained sentence of acquittal, but her prosecutor was obliged to flee from Rome.

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Cato, Catulus, and Cicero espoused her cause. She was the 9
sister of Terentia the wife of Cicero. In the picture which Cicero draws of the scandalous misdeeds of Catiline, no mention is made by him of this incident, probably out of respect for his sister-in-law. The Vestal virgins were introduced at Rome by Numa, in imitation of a similar priesthood existing at Alba. They were originally four in number. Two were subsequently added by Tarquinius Priscus, or by Servius Tullius, and six continued to be the number ever after. These priestesses had charge of the sacred fire, and were bound to inviolable chastity.—When convicted of dishonour, they were buried alive in the *campus sceleratus*, and their paramours scourged to death in the forum. (*vid. Lipsius de Vesta et Vestalibus*, Antv. 1603.)

14. *Jus fasque*, "human and divine law." Thus Isidorus (*Orig.* 5. 11.) remarks "*Fas lex divina est, jus lex humana.*"

15. *Aureliae Orestillae*. The sister or daughter of Cneius Aurelius Orestis, who was praetor, A. U. C. 677.

16. *nubere*. The distinction between *nubere* and *ducere* must be attended to by the student. *Ducere*, "to marry," or "to take in marriage," is used when a man is the subject of discourse or the nominative to the verb. *Nubere*, "to veil," or *duci* "to be led," is used when a woman is the subject of discourse, or nominative to the verb. The ellipsis is supplied in the case of the former verb, by *domum*, in the latter by *se*. Thus, *Itane tandem uxorem* (domum) *duxit Antipho?* because the husband led the bride to his own abode from her father's house. *Tullio* (se) *nupsit*, literally, "she has veiled herself for Tullius," because the bride was veiled during the ceremony of marriage. The same distinction holds good in Greek between γαμέω and γαμέομαι, although depending on a different explanation. Thus γαμέω, "I marry," is said of the husband, (*uxorem duco*,) but γαμέομαι, in the middle voice, "I suffer, or permit, or cause myself to be led away in marriage by another," is said of the female, (*nubo.*) Compare *Kuster, de verbis mediis*, p. 153.

17. *privignum*, "a son of his by a previous marriage."

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9 18. *necato filio.* Cicero alludes to this horrid deed in his first oration against Catiline, (*c.* 6.) Valerius Maximus is more explicit, (9. 1. 9.) He makes Catiline to have despatched his son with poison, (*veneno sustulit.*)

19. *vacuam domum,* &c., "he freed his home from every obstacle to this most wicked marriage."

20. *Dis hominibusque infestus.* "Obnoxious to the hatred of gods and men." *Infestus* is here used in what the grammarians denominate a passive sense.

21. *ita conscientia,* &c. A powerful expression. "To such a degree did conscience desolate his tortured spirit." Some editions read *vexabat,* others *versabat.* Both lections are inferior to the one which we have given.

22. *colos exsanguis,* "his complexion was deadly pale."

23. *foedi oculi,* "his eyes were ghastly."

24. *facie vultuque.* The difference between these terms is worth observing. *Facies* denotes the features, *vultus* the expression of the whole countenance.

10 1. *Sed juventutem,* &c. The commencement of this chapter is connected with the end of the 14th; and chapter 15 intervenes as a digression.

2. *commodare,* "he supplied," or "lent out to others."

3. *fidem, fortunas,* &c., "he regarded their good faith, their consideration in the eyes of the world, the perils which they encountered, as things of little value." i. e. he taught them to despise these things. "Ce mot," observes Dureau de Lamalle, in a note on *fortunas,* "ne peut signifier ici *richesses,* comme l'a traduit Beauzée ; car assurément ni Catilina ni ses complices ne pouvaient être indifférents sur la richesses, puisque pour en acquérir ils ne s'epargnaient ni bassesses ni crimes. *Fortuna* au pluriel me semble exprimer ici cet éclat de consideration qui entoure les hommes d'un certain rang, quand leur réputation est irréprochable ; et cette consideration, *fortunae,* ne pouvait manquer d'être compromise par toutes les manoeuvres que Catilina commandait à ses émissaires. *Fortunae,* dit Gesner, *totum illum statum quo censentur felices aut infelices notare solet.*"

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4. *ubi eorum famam*, &c., "when he had worn away their character and sense of shame." *Attriverat* beautifully expresses the insidious arts and gradual approaches of Catiline. 10

5. *insontes*, "those who had given him no cause of offence."

6. *circumvenire*, this infinitive and also *jugulare* are governed by *imperabat* understood.

7. *manus*. The nominative plural.

8. *gratuito*, "without any views of advantage." Compare Seneca, (*de Clem.* 2. 4.) "*Qui ignotos homines et obvios, non in compendium, sed occidendi causa occidunt.*"

9. *quod aes alienum*, &c. "because debts were heavy throughout all lands." i. e. because many citizens as well as others were involved in heavy debts in every quarter of the Roman world. This was the natural consequence of wide spread luxury.

10. *rapinarum et victoriae*, &c. Sylla, after the final success of his arms, had assigned large tracts of land in Italy to his armed followers, and also the possessions of many of the proscribed. Extravagant and dissolute living, however, soon scattered this ill-gotten wealth, and consequent poverty made them ripe for any new commotion in the state. "*Hi sunt homines*," observes Cicero, "*ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit, . . . . . coloni, qui se insperatis repentinisque pecuniis sumtuosius insolentiusque jactarunt: hi dum aedificant, tamquam beati, dum praediis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus.*" (2. *in Cat.* 9.)

11. *exoptabant*, "earnestly desired." *Exoptare*, from *ex* and *optare*, "to wish for a thing out and out," i. e. "to wish for, or desire, a thing exceedingly." *Butler's Praxis on the Latin prepositions*, p. 138.

12. *opprimundae reipublicae*, "of crushing the republic."

13. *terris*. Pontus and Armenia. Pompey held this important command by virtue of the Manilian Law, proposed by the tribune Manilius, and defended by Cicero in an oration still extant.

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10 14. *Consulatum petundi.* Ursinus proposes *petenti*, which is the reading of three manuscripts, on the ground that Catiline was already a candidate for the consulship. Amid the various opinions which have been advanced, we consider that of Planche the most correct. The period referred to in the text is the beginning of the year of Rome 690: not long previous to this (A. U. C. 688.) Catiline, returning from the government of Africa, was accused of extortion, and prevented from sueing for the consulship, in consequence of this charge pending at the time. He was acquitted A. U. C. 689, and might therefore entertain "the hope of standing candidate for the consulship" at the commencement of the ensuing year.

15. *Senatus nihil sane intentus.* "The senate without any distrust," or, "entirely unapprehensive of danger."

16. *Kalendas Junias.* The Roman Calendar agreed with our own, in the number of months, and of the days in each; but instead of reckoning in an uninterrupted series, from the first to the thirty-first, they had three points from which their days were counted. 1. The Calends or Kalends, which were always the first day of the month. They received their name from the old verb *calare*, because the priests, who had the charge of the Calendar, were required to *proclaim* the first day of the month publicly to the people, and to mention at the same time the number of days between the Calends and the Nones. This last was done, because it behoved the people who lived in the country to assemble in the city on the Nones of each month, in order to be informed by the *rex sacrorum* of the feasts and holidays, and to learn in general what they had to do, in regard to sacred matters, during that month. 2. The Nones were, in the months of March, May, July, and October, on the seventh; in all other months on the fifth. They were so called because there were *nine* days, counting inclusively, between them and the Ides. 3. The Ides were on the fifteenth of March, May, July, and October, and on the thirteenth of the other months. They were so named from the old verb *iduare*, because they nearly *divided* the month. The Romans always counted forwards *to* the Calends, Nones, or Ides, never backwards from them. After the first day of the

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month, therefore, they began to reckon so many days before the Nones; after the Nones, so many days before the Ides; after the Ides, so many days before the Calends of the next month. It is to be observed that the Romans, in computing their time, always included the day *from* which, and also the day *to* which, they reckoned: thus they called the 1st. January *Calendae*, the 31st. December *pridie Calendas* or *Calendarum*, and the 30th, not *secundo*, but *tertio* (ante) *Calendas*.—The year of the city when the circumstances, mentioned in the text, took place, was A. U. C. 690, B. C. 64. 10

17. *L. Caesare.* The sister of this consul was married to Lentulus, one of the conspirators, who was subsequently put to death. This L. Caesar was a relation of Julius Caesar's, and a maternal uncle of Marcus Antonius.

18. *C. Figulo.* C. Marcius Figulus, who, before his adoption into the family of the Marcii, was named Minucius Thermus. Compare *Cic. de Leg.* 2. 25. *id. ep. ad Att.* 1. 2.

19. *alios tentare*, "he sounded others."

20. *quibus maxima necessitudo*, &c., "who laboured under the greatest want, and possessed the largest share of boldness." *Necessitudo* is here taken in its primitive meaning. It signifies more commonly the tie of relationship, &c.

21. *Senatorii ordinis.* *vid.* Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 2. et seqq.

22. *P. Lentulus Sura.* This individual was of the house of the Cornelii. The censors expelled him from the senate, after he had held the office of consul. To obtain re-admission into that body, he subsequently sued for and obtained the praetorship. He was praetor at the very time of the conspiracy, and was strangled in prison. Plutarch informs us that he received the surname of Sura in consequence of having wasted a large sum of the public money in his quaestorship under Sulla, who, enraged at his conduct, demanded a state of his accounts in the senate, when Lentulus, with the utmost indifference, declared he had no accounts to produce, and contemptuously presented to him the calf of his leg (*sura.*) Among the Romans, particularly among the boys, the player at tennis,

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10 who missed his stroke, presented the calf of his leg, to receive as a punishment a certain number of strokes upon it.

23. *P. Autronius*, Cicero's fellow pupil in boyhood, and colleague in the quaestorship. In the year after the suppression of the conspiracy (A. U. C. 692) he, together with Cassius, Laeca, Vargunteius, Servius Sulla, and Caius Cornelius, suffered sentence of banishment under the Plautian law.

24. *L. Cassius Longinus*, mentioned in the preceding note, stood candidate for the consulship together with Catiline, and having failed in his object, became an accomplice in the conspiracy. According to Cicero, he took upon himself the execution of that part of the plan which related to the burning of the city. From his extraordinary corpulence, the fatness of Cassius (*Cassii adeps*) became a proverbial expression.

25. *C. Cethegus*. This individual belonged, like Lentulus, to the house of the Cornelii. In the civil wars he first espoused the party of Marius, afterwards that of Sylla. According to Cicero, he surpassed Catiline himself in rashness and audacity. He was strangled in prison, along with Lentulus, Statilius, and others of the conspirators.

26. *P. et Servius Sullae*. Publius Cornelius Sulla and Servius Cornelius Sulla were the sons of Servius Cornelius Sulla, who was brother of the dictator. Publius does not seem to have been implicated in the conspiracy, since, on being afterwards accused of this, he was defended, and with success, by Cicero.

27. *L. Vargunteius*. Not much is known of this person. He had been previously accused of bribery and defended by Hortensius. Compare *Cic. pro Sylla*, c. 2.

28. *Q. Annius*. The President De Brosses thinks that this was the same individual who cut off the head of Marcus Antonius the orator, and brought it to Marius.

29. *M. Porcius Laeca*. Of the same house or *gens* with the Catos so famous in Roman history, but of a different family.

30. *L. Bestia*, of the house of the Calpurnii, and tribune of the commons in the last month of Cicero's consulship.

He was afterwards Aedile, A. U. C. 696, and stood candidate subsequently for the praetorship. Being convicted, however, of bribery, he was compelled to go into exile. On being recalled by Caesar, he endeavoured, though without success, to obtain the office of consul. 10

31. *Q. Curius.* A descendant of the same house which produced Manius Curius Dentatus, the famous opponent of Pyrrhus. He was the most noted gambler of his time. Rewards were publicly decreed to him by the senate, for having discovered the conspiracy, but these he never obtained, on account of the opposition of Caesar, whom he had named among the accomplices of Catiline. Compare *Sueton. vit. Caes.* 17.

32. *M. Fulvius Nobilior.* He was exiled, A. U. C. 699. *Cic. ep. ad Att.* 4. 16. For an account of the equestrian order, *vid.* Adam's Roman Antiquities.

33. *L. Statilius.* The family of the Statilii were well known in the time of the second Punic war. Of this individual we possess no farther information than what is connected with the history of this conspiracy. He was strangled in prison,

34. *P. Gabinius Capito.* Cicero gives him the cognomen of Cimber, and states that he was addicted to every species of wickedness. (*Cic.* 3. *in Cat.* 3.) He was strangled in prison.

35. *C. Cornelius.* A member of the plebeian branch of the Cornelian house. He was the individual who undertook, with L. Vargunteius, to murder Cicero at his own house.

36. *Coloniis et municipiis.* A colony was a portion of Roman citizens or Latin allies sent out by public authority, either to take possession of lands captured in war, and to found thereon a new city, or to occupy cities which had fallen under the Roman sway. The *municipia* were foreign towns, whose inhabitants obtained the rights of Roman citizens. Of these there were different kinds. Some possessed all the rights of Roman citizens, except such as could not be enjoyed without residing at Rome. Others enjoyed the right of serving in the Roman legion, but had not the right of voting and of

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10 obtaining civil offices. The appellation is derived from *munus* and *capio*.

37. *Domi nobiles*. Domi is here equivalent to *in civitatibus suis*.

38. *Nobiles*. In this expression the author is thought to have included C. Julius Caesar, M. Antonius, and other ambitious and aspiring men, who were afraid to commit themselves, though they secretly wished well to the conspiracy as an instrument for the promotion of their private views.

11 1. *Copia*, in the sense of *facultas*.

2. *M. Licinium Crassum*. Crassus had already borne the offices of praetor and consul, and was remarkable for the extent of his private wealth. Not long after the period of the conspiracy, he united with Pompey and Caesar in forming the first triumvirate, (A. U. C. 693.) He was slain in his expedition against the Parthians, (A. U. C. 700.)

3. *Antea*. An account is now given, by way of digression, of the previous conspiracy. It happened three years before that of Catiline.

4. *De qua*. Understand *conjuratione*, the verb *conjuravere* having gone before.

5. *L. Tullo*. L. Volcatius Tullus, who was tribune of the commons A. U. C. 679, and consul A. U. C. 688.

6. *M. Lepido*. M. Aemilius Lepidus, who, when quaestor, A. U. C. 676, caused the Sublician bridge to be made of stone. He is a different individual from Lepidus the triumvir.

7. *P. Autronius et P. Sulla*. Mention has already been made of both in the preceding notes. Cicero (*pro Sulla*, 4.) defends P. Sulla from the charge of having been concerned in the previous conspiracy. Autronius and Sulla were consuls elect. Some editions have the words *consules designati* expressed. For remarks on the consuls elect, *vid.* note 17, p. 30.

8. *Legibus ambitus interrogati*. The laws against bribery were very severe. If the successful candidates were convicted of that crime upon trial, they were deprived of the consulship, and their competitors who accused them were nominated in their place. They were also, besides being fined, declared incapable of bearing any office, or of coming

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into the senate, by the Calpurnian and other laws. Cicero made the punishment of bribery still more severe by the Tullian law, which he caused to be passed through the authority of the Senate, by the additional penalty of a ten years' exile. 11

9. *Poenas dederant.* In these, and similar phrases, it should be observed, that the proper meaning of the term *poena* is not "punishment," but "atonement." Thus *dare poenas* is "to give satisfaction," "to make atonement," or "to be punished:" and *sumere poenas*, is "to exact atonement," "to take satisfaction," or "to punish." Compare the corresponding Greek forms δοῦναι δίκην and λαβεῖν δίκην.

10. *Pecuniarum repetundarum.* This latter word is simply the future participle passive of *repeto*, and not a defective noun as some make it. When in the genitive, it has *pecuniarum* either expressed as in this passage, or more commonly understood. When in the ablative, *pecuniis.* The action was so termed because by it the money wrongfully obtained from an individual was *demanded back.* Our English word *extortion*, though generally given as the translation of the term, is not, however, comprehensive enough, since the action *repetundarum*, was brought not merely for the recovery of what had been extorted from the individual who complained; but also for what had been obtained by the Roman governors under false pretences or by fraud. Catiline had been appointed a praetor, 68 B. C. and obtained Africa for his province. For his cruel and rapacious administration of this government, he was accused, on its expiration, at Rome.

11. *Quod intra legitimos dies, &c.* "Because he was unable to declare himself a candidate within the days prescribed by law." The *legitimi dies* were not, as Cortius explains them, the 30 days previous to the *Comitia Centuriata*, but, according to Ernesti, only the 17 immediately preceding. *vid. Ernesti, Clav. Cic. voc. Trinundinum.* Every candidate for the consulship was compelled by law to give in his name during these 17 days, and required at the same time to be free from all accusation. If any charge were pending against him, he could not

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11 sue for the office in question.—*profiteri* has *se candidatum* understood.

12. *Cn. Piso.* A member of the Calpurnian house. Suetonius (*vit. Caes.* 9.) cites the account of two Roman writers, according to whom, Caesar was connected with Piso in this conspiracy, and, while the latter attempted an insurrection against the government abroad, the former was to have excited sedition against the administration at home.

13. *Autronius.* Most editions have *circiter nonas Decembres* after *Autronius.* These words are omitted, however, by Cortius, Teller, Kunhardt, and others.

14. *Capitolio.* The senate met always, of course, on the first of January, in the Capitol, for the inauguration of the new consuls, who entered upon their office on that day; and then usually there was a crowded house.

15. *Kalendis Januariis.* *vid.* page 10, note 16.

16. *L. Cottam et L. Torquatum.* These individuals had been chosen consuls in place of Autronius and Sylla who were convicted of bribery, and consequently incapacitated from holding the office to which they had been elected.

17. *ipsi,* "of their own authority."

18. *Fascibus correptis,* "having seized upon the consular power." The *fasces* were a bundle of rods, with an axe tied in the middle of them, which were carried before the kings, and afterwards before the consuls, as an emblem of their power. Valerius Poplicola had a law passed, which took away the *securis* or axe from the *fasces,* i. e. it took from the consuls the power of life and death, and only left them the right of scourging. This last, however, was, at a subsequent period, also taken from them by the Porcian and Sempronian laws. Whether the operation of these laws extended beyond the walls of the city, or whether the consul, when invested with military command, could scourge and behead, is a point not very clearly ascertained. See on this subject, the notes to chapter 69, of the Jugurthine war.

19. *Hispanias.* By the two Spains are meant Hither and Thither Spain, or, as the Romans called them, *Citerior* and *Ulterior.* Hispania Citerior was afterwards called *Tarraco*

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*nensis*, from *Tarraco*, or Tarragona, its capital, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the *Durius*, now Douro, on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with all the south as far as a line drawn below *Carthago Nova*, now Carthagena, and continued in an oblique direction, to the Durius, above *Salamantica*, now Salamanca. Hispania Ulterior was divided into two provinces, *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. The former comprised the southern parts of Spain, between the river *Anas*, now Guadiana, and Hispania Citerior: Lusitania corresponded in a great measure to modern Portugal. 11

20. *Ea re cognita.* Suetonius (*vit. Caes.* 9.) makes mention of a plot in which Caesar and Crassus were said to have been engaged at this time. Their plan was to make an attack on the senate at the beginning of the year, and, after they had slain whom they pleased of that body, for Crassus to assume the dictatorship and appoint Caesar his master of the horse. Crassus, either from repentance or fear *(poenitentia vel metu,)* came not at the day appointed, and Caesar consequently did not give the signal which had been agreed upon, the dropping namely of his toga from his shoulders. The plot therefore failed. Suetonius makes no mention either of Catiline or Piso as connected with this conspiracy, although it is evident that he and Sallust refer to one and the same event. A subsequent plot between Caesar and Piso has already been alluded to in note 12, page 11.

21. *Transtulerant.* Some editions read *transtulerunt.*

22. *Quod ni*, &c., "and had not Catiline," &c. From the fondness of the Latin writers for the connection by means of relatives, appears to have originated the use of *quod* before many conjunctions, merely as a copulative. *(vid. Zumpt L. G.* p. 404. *Kenrick's transl.* 2d *ed.)*——*pro curia*, "in front of the senate-house."

23. *Post conditam urbem Romanam*, "since the founding of the Roman city."

24. *Consilium diremit*, "caused the plot to fail."

25. *Quaestor pro praetore*, "as Quaestor with praetorian power." To send out a quaestor with praetorian power was

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11 a very unusual proceeding, and, as in the present instance, only sanctioned by the exigencies of the state. The Quaestors had charge of the public money, and obtained their name *a quaerendo*, because they got in the public revenues. The principal charge of the city quaestors was the care of the treasury, which was kept in the temple of Saturn. The office of the provincial quaestors was, to attend the consuls or praetors into their provinces; to take care that provisions and pay were furnished to the army; to exact the taxes and tribute of the empire; to take care of the money, and to sell the spoils taken in war, &c. The Praetors were, strictly speaking, judicial officers; they were also sent out as governors of provinces, and of course commanded armies when occasion required.

26. *Infestum inimicum*, " a bitter personal enemy." Some editors consider *inimicum* as superfluous, and reject it from the text.

27. *Cn. Pompeio.* Compare the termination of chapter 17. " *cujusvis opes voluisse*," &c.

28. *Esse, volebat.* Some editions have *abesse.* Compare Dio Cassius 36. 27. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ ὣς ὁ Πίσων ἐθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τε ἡ γερουσία, μή τι συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχήν τινα, ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδικήσας τι αὐτούς, ἐσφάγη.

12 1. *Quam plures.* The common text has *complures.*

2. *In provincia iter faciens*, " while on a march within his province." Cortius reads *in provinciam*, making *in* equivalent to *intra.*

3. *Sunt qui ita dicant.* Strict Latinity requires *dicant*, which we have given therefore in place of the common reading *dicunt.* It must be confessed, however, that several instances occur, even in the best writers, of the indicative being thus used with the relative. *vid. Scheller. praecept. styli.* vol. 1, p. 166. *Heusinger ad Cic. de Off.* 1. 24. The subjunctive, however, on such occasions is certainly preferable, and in some cases essential to perspicuity, otherwise the subject may be mistaken for the predicate. For example, if we say, " *Sunt boni, qui dicunt*, to express " They are good men who say,"

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and also, "There are good men who say," the expression is 12
evidently ambiguous. This ambiguity is removed by expressing the former sentiment by *Sunt boni, qui dicunt*, in which case the relative clause is the subject, and the antecedent clause the predicate; and by expressing the latter sentiment by "*Sunt boni, qui dicant*," where the antecedent clause is the subject, and the relative clause the predicate. (*vid. Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 21, 3d ed.)

4. *Cn. Pompeii*, &c. We have here a perfect hexameter: *Cnēī Pōmpeīī vĕtĕrēs fīdōsquĕ clĭēntēs.* (Compare *Muretus ad Cic.* 1. *Cat.* 1.) Similar "*disjecta membra poetae*" occur in the best prose writers. We subjoin a few of the most striking:

*Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque*
*Facto, per medios vadit*—————— (*Livy*, 22. 50.)
———————————*silvam*
*Auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram.* (*Tacit.*)
*Post natos homines, ut, cum privatus obisset.* (*Nepos.*)
*Armeniaque amissa, ac rursus utraque recepta.* (*Sueton.*)
*Ex arce augurium capientibus officiebat.* (*Val. Max.*)
*Aut prudentia major inest, aut non mediocris.* (*Cic. de Off.*)

The term *clientes*, which occurs in the passage of Sallust to which this note refers, has no relation whatever to the Roman institution of patronage and clientship, but signifies here merely "retainers," or "adherents."

5. *Adgressos*. For *aggressos*. This is generally termed an archaism; but, according to Scheller, it is a question whether the ancients ever altered the form of the preposition when in composition. He considers it always more accurate to retain as far as possible the prepositions in an unaltered form, as *adfero, adtuli, adlatum; inretio, inmergo*, &c. (*Scheller, L G.* vol. 1. p. 129. *Walker's transl.*)

6. *Praeterea*, "in any other instance."

7. *relinquemus*. Some editions have *relinquimus*. *In medio relinquere*, "to leave undetermined."

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12 8. *In rem*, "of advantage."——*universos*, "all, at one and the same time." Some critics have defined *universi* as meaning, "all at one time," while *cuncti* denotes "all in one place." The present passage favours such a distinction, although instances are frequently met with where it is not observed, and where *universi* merely signifies "all together," or "considered as one aggregate." (*quasi ad unum versi.*)

9. *Aedium*, "of the house." Heusinger explains *aedes*, as in the singular number denoting the cottage, or habitation, of a private individual, which is wholly exposed to view, when you enter it, and is not divided into chambers: also, "any single chamber." (*Obs. Antibarb.* p. 388.) From denoting originally a house not divided into apartments, it came naturally to denote "a temple," or "chamber for divine worship;" and to this latter acceptation it seems almost entirely, if not wholly, confined. Noltenius remarks, that though generally used in the singular number for "a temple," and very rarely for "a house," it is sometimes employed in the latter acceptation; and he quotes as one example, Horace, *Carm* 1. 30. 4. The lexicographer, however, is in error, as the term here denotes a chapel, or part of the house, dedicated to the worship of the *Lares* and *Penates*. The two passages which are adduced from Curtius, Snakenborg considers to be chargeable with false readings, and also the passage which Alciatus has quoted from Cicero's Oration for Cluentius. The plural *aedes* means "a house," and occurs more than 250 times in Plautus alone, in that signification. (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 270. 3d *ed.*)

10. *Secedit.* Some editions have *secessit.* The emendation is unnecessary.

11. *Arbitris*, "witnesses." Noltenius defines *arbiter* to be, according to its primitive import, "*Occulte adrepens, qui suis oculis videt, suisque auribus audit.*" The most probable opinion is, that it is derived from the obsolete verb *bitere*, "to go," being compounded of *ar* for *ad*, and *bitere*, in the same way as we have *arcesso* for *adcesso*. *Testis* means "a witness,"

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chiefly in a cause or trial, before a court, "One who bears 12
testimony." (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1. p. 309. 3d. ed.)

12. *Spectata*, some editions have *satis spectata*.

13. *Dominatio*. In some editions *dominationis* . . . . . . . *fuissent*.

14. *Neque ego*, &c. The personal pronouns in Latin are seldom if ever expressed without implying emphasis in a greater or less degree. *Ego* is here equivalent to ἔγωγε. "Nor, I assure you, would I, relying on men of cowardly spirits or fickle minds, grasp at uncertainties in place of what is certain."

15. *Tempestatibus*, "occasions."

16. *Ausus*. Understand *est*. In accordance with the text of Cortius, the substantive verb is frequently omitted by us. It may be doubted, however, whether Cortius, on some occasions, does not carry this principle of omission too far. (*vid. Class. Journ.* No. 67, p. 128. "*Sallustianarum Lectionum Symbola*," &c.)

17. *Incipere*, "to enter upon the achievement of."

18. *Eadem quae mihi*, &c. "*Cortius*," observes the Bipont editor, "*delet* quae, *ad aucupandum Graecismum*."

19. *Nam idem velle*, &c., "for, to have the same desires and the same aversions, that, in fine, is the surest bond of friendship."

20. *Diversi*, "individually."

21. *Concessit*, "has come," or "has fallen." Compare *Sallust. Hist. frag. Lib.* 3. *Oratio Licinii ad plebem.* "*Itaque omnes concessere jam in paucorum dominationem*," &c.

22. *Tetrarchae*. "Tetrarchs." *Tetrarcha* originally signified one who ruled over the *fourth* part of a country or *kingdom*, (from τέτταρα and ἀρχή.) Afterwards, however, the term merely came to denote a minor or inferior potentate, without any reference to the extent of territory governed. Thus, according to Strabo, Gallo-Graecia in Asia Minor was governed at first by 12 tetrarchs, afterwards by 3, and lastly by 2, previous to its being made a kingdom.

23. *Vectigales*. Strictly speaking, the *Stipendiarii*, or *Tributarii*, were those who paid their taxes in money; and the

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12 *Vectigales* were those who gave a certain part of the produce of the soil to the republic. The words, however, as in the present instance, are sometimes confounded.

24. *Populi, nationes, &c.* *Gens* is the root or stock, containing many families (*familiae,*) or even nations (*nationes.*) It is the generic term in respect to *natio* and *familia.* Thus the Germans may be called *gens,* the Saxons *natio;* or, if we rise higher, the Europeans may be called *gens,* the Germans *natio.* *Gens* is even sometimes applied to the whole human race; as, "*Gens hominum est huic belluae adversa.*" (*Plin. H. N.* 8. 25.) *Populus* is more extensive than *natio,* but in general less so than *gens,* though instances are not un frequent where *populus* and *gens* directly coincide. The term *populi* in the text may be rendered by "communities." (*vid. Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2. p. 256. 3d. *ed.*)

25. *Nobiles atque ignobiles.* Dureau de Lamalle contends that *deque* must be understood before *atque,* so that the sense may be, "Et nous autres, tous tant que nous sommes, qui les valons pour le talent, pour le courage, pour la naissance, nous sommes traités comme la plus ignoble populace." He has evidently mistaken the meaning of Sallust. The clause merely signifies, "whether of high or humble origin."

26. *His obnoxii, &c.* "At the mercy of these men, to whom, if the republic were in a sound and healthy state, we would prove a source of continual alarm."

13 1. *Repulsas.* "Repulses in sueing for office." Some editions give *repulsis* as a participle. The term *repulsas* has nothing in it contrary to correct Latinity. Compare Livy (39. 56.) "*post duas repulsas.*"

2. *Emori per virtutem,* "bravely to encounter a speedy death."

3. *Verum enim vero, &c.* "But, indeed, and I call gods and men to witness the truth of my assertion," &c.

4. *Viget aetas, animus valet.* "Our years are vigorous, our spirit is unbroken."

5. *Cetera res expediet.* "The rest will follow of course." The literal meaning is, "the remainder of the affair will extricate itself (from the dangers which at present surround it.)

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*Expediet* has *sese* understood. Dahl renders it as follows: 13
"Das Uebrige wird sich von selbst finden, wenn die Sache nur einmal angefangen ist," and Dureau de Lamalle, "le reste viendra de soi-même."——*in extruendo mari,* &c., "in building up a sea, and in levelling mountains." Alluding to the extravagance of the Roman nobility in their fish-ponds, pleasure-grounds, &c.

6. *Illos binas,* &c. Referring to the erection of two houses in immediate connection with one another, and communicating throughout. Compare the Septuagint version (Is. 5. 8.) οἱ συνάπτοντες οἰκίαν πρὸς οἰκίαν, and Tacitus (*Annal.* 15. 39.) "*domo palatium et hortos continuare.*"

7. *Larem familiarem,* "a home that we can call our own."

8. *Toreumata,* "embossed plate." From τόρευμα, "*vas caelatum.*" The term has no reference whatever to *engraving,* but is confined to work adorned with bas-relief. "Allein da es vom Metall gebraucht wird, so kann es blos auf Formen und Geissen sich beziehen; und da es nur *erhobne Arbeit* anzeigt so lässt sich ohne nähern Grund auf kein *Stechen* und *Graben* deuten." (*Heyne, Sammlung antiquarischer Aufsätze.* Th. 2. 5. 129.)

9. *Nova diruunt,* "though they pull down edifices but recently erected." Some prefer *vetera,* as a reading, in place of *nova,* but this weakens the sense. In support of the present lection, compare Suetonius, (*vit. Caes.* 46.) "*Munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam, magnoque sumtu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quamquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum.*"

10. *Trahunt, vexant,* "though they squander, though they lavish in the wildest extravagance." *Trahunt* is here equivalent to *distrahunt,* and *vexant* to *insano luxu disperdunt.*

11. *Summa lubidine,* "by the most lavish and capricious expenditure."

12. *Mala res,* &c. "Our present condition is a wretched one, our hope of the future worse."

13. *Quibus mala,* &c. "unto whom all evils abounded.

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13 but who possessed neither property nor any hopes of lawfully acquiring it."

14. *Quieta movere,* " to disturb the tranquillity of the state."

15. *Quae conditio belli foret,* "what were to be the conditions of their engaging in the contest."

16. *Quid ubique,* &c. *Ubique* is used both here and elsewhere by Sallust in the sense of *et ubi.*

14 1. *Tabulas novas,* "an abolition of debts." The ordinary writing materials of the Romans were tablets covered with wax; paper, and parchment. Their stylus was broad at one end; so that when they wished to correct or erase any thing, they turned the stylus, and smoothed the wax with the broad end, after which the tablets might be written on anew. Hence when debts were discharged, the former marks were smoothed over and the tablets were ready for a new score.

2. *Proscriptionem.* Sylla first introduced the method of proscription. Upon his return into the city, after having overthrown the party of Marius, he wrote down the names of those whom he doomed to die, and ordered them to be fixed up in the public places of the city, with the promise of a certain reward *(duo talenta)* for the head of each person so proscribed. New lists *(tabulae proscriptionis)* were repeatedly exposed, as new victims occurred to his memory or were suggested to him. The land and fortunes of the slain were divided among the friends of Sylla. Catiline promised a repetition of these enormities to his followers.

3. *Bellum atque lubido victorum,* " war and the license of conquerors."

4. *Citeriore.* *vid.* note 19, page 11.

5. *Mauretania.* Now *Marocco* and *Fez,* an extensive country of Africa, bounded on the east by Numidia, (*Algiers;*) on the south by Gaetulia, (*Beledelgerid;*) on the north by the Mediterranean and Fretum Herculeum (*Straits of Gibraltar;*) and on the west by the Atlantic.

6. *P. Sittium Nucerinum.* This individual, a member of the equestrian order, had, in consequence of an accusation brought against him, left Rome a short time previous to the breaking out of this conspiracy, and with a number of his asso-

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ciates and dependants assisted the king of Mauretania against the neighbouring princes. Catiline claimed him, according to Sallust, as privy to the intended revolution in the state; Cicero, however, in his oration for Sulla (c. 20.) says that he quitted the city in consequence of an agreement with the king of Mauretania; that he had formerly been in Africa, and that the idea of his being implicated in the conspiracy was absurd. The orator describes him as a respectable man, and calls him his old friend and acquaintance (*non enim mihi deserenda est causa amici veteris atque hospitis.*) At a later period, A. U. C. 708, he was very useful to Julius Caesar in Africa, according to Dio Cassius, (43. 3.) 'Ενταῦθ' οὖν αὐτῷ ὄντι Πούπλιός τις Σίττιος τήν τε σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἔδωκεν. Compare Appian. B. C. 4. 54. *ed. Schweigh.* The common text of Cicero calls him Cincius, which Ernesti retains, but the edition of Schütz gives the true form. 14

7. *C. Antonium.* Son of the celebrated orator, M. Antonius, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir.

8. *Omnibus necessitudinibus*, &c., "beset by every species of want."

9. *Eo*, understand *cum*, which in some editions is expressed. *Eo* refers to Antonius, and *consulem* to Catiline. "That in conjunction with him, (Antonius,) he (Catiline) would make a beginning of the enterprise." The common text, besides *eum*, has *se* expressed before *consulem*. Cortius attempts to explain this passage in a very forced manner, and makes it equivalent to "*quique propterea, si consul declaratus esset, per se initium facturus esset rerum*," &c., referring *consulem* to Antonius.

10. *Maledictis increpat*, "he attacks with revilings."

11. *Admonebat.* Some editions have *admonere.*

12. *Cupiditatis suae*, "of his ruling propensity."

13. *Petitionem suam*, "his application for the consulship."

14. *Humani corporis sanguinem.* According to Dio Cassius (37. 30.) a boy was slain by the conspirators, and after an oath had been made over his entrails Catiline with his accom-

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14 plices *partook of them!* (*ἐσπλαγχνίσωσιν αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων.*)

15. *Inde cum post exsecrationem*, &c. "That when, after having invoked a solemn curse upon their own heads in case they proved faithless, they had all slightly tasted thereof." Some editions place a comma after *inde*, but it is much more elegant to refer it to the contents of the cup.

16. *Atque eo*, &c. *Dictitare* does not refer to Catiline, but is used as the historical infinitive for *dictitabant*, and refers to those persons who propagated the report in question: "and they reported about that he had done it with this view, in order that," &c.

17. *Alius alii*, &c., "being conscious, one to another, of so great a crime.'

18. *Ciceronis invidiam*, "the odium against Cicero."

19. *Pro magnitudine*, "considering its importance." The meaning of the whole passage is this: the proof, on which this accusation rests, is too slight, considering the heavy nature of the charge, for me to express any definite or decided opinion on the subject.

20. *Conventione*. Some editions have *conjuratione*, which is an inferior reading.

21. *Flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus*, "covered with infamy and with crime."

22. *Amoverant*, "had expelled." Among their other duties, the censors had the inspection of public morals. A general review of the whole Roman people took place every *lustrum*, a period of five years. The manner of expelling from the senate was by passing over the name of the delinquent in calling the senatorial roll.

23. *Vanitas*, "inconsiderateness" or "want of judgment."

24. *Prorsus, neque dicere*, &c., "in short, he did not at all care what he either said or did."

15 1. *Fulvia*. Florus uses very strong language in relation to this female, viz. "*vilissimum scortum*," &c.

2. *Vetus consuetudo*, "an intimacy of long standing."

3. *Minus largiri poterat*, "he was less able to lavish presents upon her."

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4. *Maria montesque; &c.*, "to make her the most extravagant promises." A proverbial mode of expression. Compare *Adagia Veterum*, p. 472, col. 2. The verb *polliceri*, generally, perhaps, significant of express and certain engagements and those made by stronger affirmations, is employed only in a good sense, as exciting hope; whereas *promittere* holds forth either good or evil, awakening hope or fear. *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 146, 3d ed. 15

5. *Obnoxia*, "obedient to his will."

6. *Insolentiae*, "strange conduct."

7. *Sublato auctore*, "having concealed the name of her informant." Understand *de narratione*. Compare Cicero (*ad Att.* 2. 24.) "*Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit.*"

8. *M. Tullio Ciceroni.* Cicero obtained the Quaestorship at *thirty-one*; the Aedileship at *thirty-seven*; the Praetorship at *forty*; the Consulship at *forty-three*; and he informs us that his appointment to each of these offices was in the very year in which he was eligible by law.

9. *Pleraque nobilitas.* The feminine singular *pleraque* is not usual among the Latin writers. Sallust has already used it in the 17th chapter of the History of this Conspiracy. Compare *Jugurtha*, c. 60 and 81. Aulus Gellius, (17. 21.) Apuleius, (*Apol. sub. fin.*, &c.)

10. *Credebant. Nobilitas*, as a collective noun, takes the plural verb.

11. *Homo novus.* Among the Romans, those who were the first of their family that had raised themselves to any curule office were called *Homines novi*, "new men," "upstarts," &c. Compare Appian B. C. (2. 2.) καλοῦσι δ'οὕτω (scil. καινόν,) τοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων, γνωρίμους.

12. *Postfuere*, "lagged behind."

13. *Popularis*, "the accomplices." Understand *socios*.

14. *Sumtam mutuam*, "borrowed." In this idiom, the adjective *mutuus*, (from *mutare*,) implies that there is a change of the thing lent, and that the return is made by an equivalent. When *commodare* signifies "to lend," it supposes the subject restored as it was given. (*Hill's Synonyms*, p. 210. 4to. ed.)

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15 15. *Faesulas.* *Faesulae* (now *Fiezola*) was a town of Etruria, north-east of Florentia, towards the foot of the Appenines. It is at present rather a village than a town.

16. *Manlium.* This Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired considerable military experience, and accumulated great wealth, which he soon dissipated by his excessive extravagance. Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and Appian, write the name Μάλλιος; and hence it would seem that *Mallius*, which is the reading of a few manuscripts, is more correct than *Manlius*. The editions of Sallust, however, give the latter form, with very few exceptions.

17. *Princeps belli faciundi,* "the first to begin the war."

18. *Adscivisse.* Understand *sibi*, which is expressed in some editions.

19. *Quae, ubi aetas, &c.*, "who, when years had set bounds to their sources of gain, but not to their luxurious indulgences." *Neque* is here equivalent to *et non.*

20. *Servitia urbana,* "the city slaves." *Servitium*, in the singular, means "slavery," &c. In a few instances, however, it has the same signification as the plural. Compare *Cic. in Verr. 7. 4. a med. Id. de Harusp. resp. c. 12. circa med., &c.*

21. *Sempronia.* A member of the illustrious house of the Sempronii, from which the two Gracchi and other distinguished men derived their descent.

22. *Virilis audaciae,* "stamped with manly boldness."

23. *Viro.* She married Decimus Junius Brutus, who held the consulship with M. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, A. U. C. 677.

24. *Psallere.* This verb, from the Greek ψάλλω, means either to play upon a musical instrument, or to accompany it at the same time with the voice.—The infinitives *psallere* and *saltare*, and likewise the accusative *multa alia*, depend on *docta.*

25. *Elegantius,* "with more elegance," "with more skill." This word seems used in a bad sense, referring to loose, indecent, and theatrical gestures in dancing, which, at the same time, however, were not ungraceful. In the earlier period of

the Roman republic, both dancing and music were held in little repute. After the adoption of Grecian customs and habits, more regard was paid to them, and they met with less censure, especially music. In the corrupt ages of the empire, when public morals were at their lowest ebb, dancing of course came fully into vogue, and without any blame being attached to it. It may perhaps excite our surprise that the Romans should have condemned what we regard as so innocent an amusement; but we should bear in mind that the dancing which the Romans censured, can only be compared with the worst species of our opera-dancing, since they had also their religious dances, those of the Salii in particular, which were sanctioned by the practice of ages. The Latin verb which we translate to dance, properly signifies, to leap high and frequently; the corresponding Greek verb (ὀρχέομαι) has a similar meaning: Plato in his Cratylus explains it by μετεωρίζω and πάλλω; so Antiphanes in Athenaeus, p. 688. b. has the expression καρδία ὀρχεῖται, the heart leaps, for καρδία πηδᾷ. 15

26. *Instrumenta luxuriae,* "the instruments of vice."

1. *Decerneres.* Some editions have *discerneres.* 16

2. *Creditum abjuraverat,* "had foresworn a trust reposed in her."——*praeceps abierat,* "had plunged headlong into ruin."

3. *Verùm ingenium ejus,* &c., "her native powers, however, were far from contemptible."

4. *Facetiae.* *Facetiae* denotes gracefulness in general, or that elegance of wit and humour, which indicates a correct and delicate taste.—The primary idea implied in *Lepos* and *lepidus,* is sweetness or softness, opposed to what is harsh and rough, and the term is confined to the mode of expression: whereas *facetiae* is applicable to the sentiment as well as the diction or gesture, designating the character of the mind, as possessed of taste and judgment. (*Vid. Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2. p. 39.) If, after these premises, I might venture to translate the passage in Sallust to which this note refers, it would be as follows. "In a word, she possesssed a large share of refined wit, and much captivating sweetness of expression."

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16 5. *Designatus.* *Vid.* page 30, note 17.

6. *Dolus aut astutiae,* "dexterity or address." *Dolus* is here equivalent to what the civilians call *dolus bonus,* i. e. a stratagem put in operation against an enemy, in one's own defence. Thus Ulpian remarks: "*Veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant, et pro sollertia hòc nomen accipiebant: maxime si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinetur.*"

7. *Pollicendo per Fulviam.* Some editions place a comma after *pollicendo,* and connect *per Fulviam* with *effecerat,* removing the point before the last mentioned word. The punctuation in our text is far preferable.

8. *Pactione provinciae.* The province of Macedonia had fallen to the lot of Cicero, but he generously yielded it to Antonius, who, being in indigent circumstances by reason of his dissipated life, was the more easily inclined to receive a rich province as the price of his adherence to the state. Antonius held the government of Macedonia for two years after the expiration of his consulship, and, on his return to Rome, was brought to trial and sentenced to perpetual banishment, for extortion, and for making war beyond the bounds of his province. (*Liv. epit.* 103.) Before his elevation to the consulship, the censors had expelled him from the senate. He appears to have been a man of profligate habits.

9. *Ne contra rempublicam, &c.,* "not to cherish sentiments hostile to the well-being of the state."

10. *Clientium.* The institution of patronage and clientship owed its origin to Romulus, according to the common account. That the patricians and plebeians might be connected together by the strictest bonds, the monarch ordained that every plebeian should choose from the patricians any one he pleased as his *patron,* or protector, whose *client* he was called. It was the part of the patron to advise and to defend his client, to assist him with his interest and substance; in short, to do every thing for him that a parent uses to do for his children. The client was obliged to pay all kind of respect to his patron, and to serve him with his life and fortune in any extremity. As regards the *origin,* however, of this relation between the two orders, it is more than probable that the common account is

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incorrect. The institution of patronage would seem to have sprung from a state of society in which a superior *caste* exercised sway over an inferior one: nor is this one of the least interesting objects of enquiry connected with the early history of Rome. 16

11. *Comitiorum,* "of election." The comitia here referred to are the *Centuriata.* (*vid.* Adam's Roman Antiquities.)

12. *Consulibus.* The Bipont edition reads *consuli,* referring the term to Cicero alone. Cortius gives *consulibus,* supposing the *consules designati* to be also meant.——*Campo,* "in the *Campus Martius.*"

13. *Aspera foedaque evenerant,* "had eventuated in disappointment and disgrace."

14. *Faesulas.* *vid.* note 15, page 15.

15. *Camertem,* "a native of Camerinum." Camerinum, (now *Camerino,*) was a town of Umbria, near the confines of Picenum. M. Barbié du Bocage is of opinion that it was founded by the Camertes after their city Camerta had been destroyed by Sylla for favouring the party of Marius.

16. *Agrum Picenum,* "the district of Picenum" lay along the Adriatic, to the east of Umbria and the country of the Sabines. The *march of Ancona* comprehends the greater part of it.

17. *C. Julium.* Not a member of the Julian family, but probably some obscure individual. Had he belonged to that illustrious house he would have been mentioned by Sallust among the principal conspirators.

18. *Apuliam.* Apulia was a district of Italy, to the east of Samnium and north of Lucania. Its coast along the Adriatic was called Daunia in the northern part. The modern name of Apulia is *La Puglia,* or, more strictly speaking, the ancient district answers to the present *La Capitanata, la terre d' Otranto,* and *la terre de Bari.*

19. *Quem ubique.* For *Quem et ubi.*

20. *Obsidĕre.* A verb of the third conjugation, from *obsidĕre* "to beset."

21. *Cum telo esse,* "carried a weapon about with him." This phraseology is adopted from a law of the twelve tables,

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16 by which it was forbidden to wear any weapon in the city. Compare Cicero (*pro Milone*, 4.) "*Quae* (lex) *non modo hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat.*" Upon any sudden provocation the Romans used the *graphium* or *stylus* as a weapon, which they carried in a case. Hence probably the origin of the word *stiletto* in Italian.

22. *Jubere*. scil. *ipsos quoque cum telo esse.*

23. *Festinare*, "he was actively employed."

17 1. *Intempesta nocte*, "in the dead of night." *Intempesta nox* properly denotes that period of the night which is fit only for repose, or, to use the words of Macrobius, (*Sat.* 1. 3. extr.) "*quae non habet idoneum tempus rebus gerendis.*"

2. *M. Porcium Laecam*. This individual has already been mentioned in the 17th chapter. According to Cicero (1 *in Cat.* 4.—*pro Sulla*, 18.) the meeting was held in the house of Laeca, on the night of the 6th November, ("*ea nocte, quae consecuta est posterum diem nonarum Novembris, me* (Cicerone) *consule.*") Sallust evidently places the time of this meeting too early: he seems to have been under the impression that it was held about the close of October, since he only mentions the accusation of L. Paullus against Catiline, (which occurred on the 22d October,) in the 31st chapter. Cicero's account agrees with Sallust's as to this having been merely a partial meeting at the house of Laeca; "*convenisse eodem complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios.*" Dio Cassius only states that Catiline directed his accomplices to assemble by night at a certain house, (ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συλλεγῆναι· 37. 32.)

3. *Obficere*. An archaism, according to the common grammar, for *officere*: but *vid.* page 12, note 5.

4. *C. Cornelius*, &c. Cicero here differs from Sallust, and makes both Cornelius and Vargunteius to have belonged to the equestrian order. "*Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante lucem me meo in lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur.*" (1 *in Cat.* 4.) The discrepancy, however, may easily be removed by supposing that Vargunteius, although a senator, was of equestrian extraction and rank. Plutarch calls the two individuals in question Marcius and Cethegus, (*vit. Cic.* 16. *ed. Hutten.* vol.

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5, p. 236.) The account given by Appian varies from that of 17
Sallust in one or two particulars, and also, like that of Plutarch, in the names. Appian makes Lentulus and Cethegus to have been the intended assassins. (B. C. 2. 3.) The statement of Sallust is no doubt entitled to the most credit.

5. *Ea nocte, paullo post, &c.* "*Paullo post intempestam noctem,*" observes Cortius, "hoc est primo mane, illud enim tempus salutationum erat." It was the custom at Rome for the consuls to hold their levees early in the morning.

6. *Sicuti salutatum,* "as if for the purpose of paying their respects."

7. *Intellegit.* The old present: an archaism for *intelligit.*

8. *Latrones.* Governed by *sollicitare* understood,

9. *Sullanis colonis.* The soldiers of Sylla, settled as colonists on the lands of the Etrurians. Compare Cicero (2. *in Cat.* 9.) "*Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis quas Sulla constituit,*" &c.

10. *Ancipiti malo,* "by the double danger," i. e. both within and without the city.

11. *Privato consilio,* "by his own private vigilance," or "by his single management."

12. *Rem ad senatum refert,* "he lays the matter before the senate." Dahl supposes this to have taken place on the 19th or 21st of October.

13. *Volgi rumoribus exagitatam,* "noised abroad by reason of the popular rumours." Cortius prefers *exagitatum,* though he retains the common reading: *exagitatum* would refer to the senate being agitated and alarmed by the popular rumours, previous to Cicero's formal reference.

14. *In atroci negotio,* "in a dangerous emergency."

15. *Ea potestas, &c.* Cortius considers *ea* as an ablative, with *formula decreti,* or some other equivalent expression, understood. This interpretation appears to us rather forced: we would prefer rendering the passage as follows: "this is the highest authority which, in accordance with Roman usage, is bestowed upon any magistrate." The whole passage forms a "locus classicus" in relation to the meaning and limits of the

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17 famous decree to which it alludes. The decree was called *Ultimum* or *Extremum*. By it the republic was said to be intrusted to the consuls. For 120 years before Sylla, the creation of a dictator was disused; but in dangerous emergencies the consuls were armed with dictatorial power by a decree of this nature.

18 1. *Imperium atque judicium,* &c., "to exercise the highest military and civil controul." *Imperium,* as opposed to *Magistratus* or *Potestas,* denotes military power or authority. The distinction between *potestas* and *potentia* appears to be this. *Potestas* consists in what we have permission to do, *potentia* in what we have ability to do. Hence *potestas* refers to delegated authority, *potentia* to power of one's own acquiring: the former answers to the Greek word ἐξουσία, the latter to δύναμις. (*Dumesnil's Synonyms,* s. v.—*Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 1, p. 108, 3d. ed.)——*nulli earum rerum,* &c. Some manuscripts give *nullius.* Cortius and others, however, prefer *nulli.* A question arises, whether *nulli* be the dative case, according to the common form of declining the adjective, or the genitive, according to the older mode of inflection. It is thought by many that the position of the words strongly favours the latter opinion. We take the liberty of dissenting from this. The common mode of explaining the passage we consider perfectly unexceptionable: "without an express order of the people, no consul has the right of interfering in these things."

2. *Recitavit,* "read aloud." *Legere* "to read," "to peruse with the eyes without uttering any sound." *Recitare,* "to read aloud that others may hear." Compare *Noltenius Lex. Antibarb.* vol. 1, page 1146. seqq.

3. *Ante diem sextum Kalendas Novembris,* "on the sixth day before the Kalends of November," i. e. the 27th October. The Latin phrase is equivalent to *die sexto ante Kalendas,* or, according to the more usual form, *sexto Kalendas.* Ernesti and others make *diem* to be governed by *in* understood, which is expressed in many instances. Compare Cicero, *Phil.* 3. 8. "*in ante diem* iv. *Kal. Dec.,*" &c., and 1. *in Cat.* 3. "*Dixi ego idem in senatu, caedem te optimatum contulisse in*

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*ante diem* v. *Kal. Novembres.*" Zumpt, in his larger grammar, 18
thinks that these apparently anomalous phrases probably arose from a transposition of *ante;* and that having once written *ante die tertio Kalendas,* they would easily be led to change *die* into *diem,* as if it had been governed by *ante.* In his smaller grammar (Bancroft's transl. p. 233,) he considers *ante diem* in the light of an unchangeable substantive, since prepositions which govern the accusative can be set before it. Compare the usage of *pridie.* "*Nos in Formiano esse volumus usque ad* pridie *Nonas Maias.*" (*Cic. ad Att.* 2. 11.)

4. *Fieri,* "were being held."

5. *Capuae.* A rich and flourishing city of Campania, of Etrurian origin. The severe punishment inflicted upon it by the Romans, for opening its gates to Hannibal, is well known. Julius Caesar sent a powerful colony to Capua, and under the emperors it again flourished. But it suffered greatly from the barbarians in a later age; so much so, that the Bishop Landulfus and the Lombard Count Lando transferred the inhabitants to Casilinum, on the Vulturnus, 19 stadia distant. This is the site of modern Capua.

6. *Senati.* Many nouns in Latin appear to have been originally of the second as well as fourth declension. *Scheller, L. G.* vol. 1, p. 90. (*Walker's transl.*)—*Struve über die Lateinische Declin. und Conj.* §7.

7. *Q. Marcius Rex.* The Marcian house claimed descent from Ancus Marcius, and hence the cognomen of *Rex* which they assumed. Compare Suetonius (*vit. Caes.* 6.) "*Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges,*" &c. Q. Marcius Rex had just returned from the province of Cilicia, where, as proconsul, he had gained some successes, for which he laid claim to a triumph.

8. *Q. Metellus Creticus.* He was consul with Q. Hortensius, A. U. C. 685, and in A. U. C. 686—88, reduced, as proconsul, the island of Crete under the Roman sway. Hence his cognomen of *Creticus.* He enjoyed a triumph for this success, A. U. C. 691, though opposed by Pompey. Compare Livy, (*Epit.* 99.) "*Q. Metellus proconsul Gnosson, et Lyctum, et Cydoniam, et alias plurimas urbes expugnavit. Cn. Pompeius, lege*

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18 *ad populum lata, persequi piratas jussus, &c. intra quadragesimum diem toto mari eos expulit . . . . . Queritur Metellus gloriam sibi rerum gestarum a Pompeio praeripi, qui in Cretam miserit legatum ad accipiendas urbium deditiones.*" So also Velleius Paterculus (2. 34.) "*Ne ab hujus quidem usura gloriae temperavit animum Cn. Pompeius, quin victoriae partem conaretur vindicare. Sed et Luculli et Metelli triumphum, cum ipsorum singularis virtus, tum etiam invidia Pompeii apud optimum quemque fecit favorabilem.*" Florus therefore is evidently wrong in stating, that Metellus obtained no other recompense for his successes than the mere honour of a cognomen: "*nec quicquam amplius tamen de tam famosa victoria, quam cognomen Creticum reportavit.*"

9. *Circumque loca. Circum* is here put for *circumjacentia.* Some editions read *circumque ea loca.*

10. *Ad urbem,* "near the city," or "at the gates of the city." Generals who claimed a triumph could not enter the city until the senate had decided upon their application. If they violated this rule, their military power instantly ceased, and their right to a triumph was lost, since no citizen was allowed to hold any military power within the city-walls. It required a special law to be passed, giving them military authority within the city on the day of their triumph. The senate met their victorious commanders without the walls.

11. *Calumnia paucorum,* "by the cabals of a few individuals." *Calumnia* appears to be used here in a sense which approaches very nearly its primitive one. If Priscian's derivation of the term from the old verb *calvo* "to thwart," "to deceive," be the true one, (*calutum* in the supine being the intermediate step) the original meaning of *calumnia* will be, "unfair practices," "cavils," "cabals," &c.

12. *Sed praetores.* Understand *quoque missi.*

13. *Q. Pompeius Rufus.* There were two families at Rome, descended from the Pompeian house, (*gens Pompeia,*) the first, that of the *Strabones,* from which Pompey, the opponent of Caesar, was sprung; and the other, that of the *Rufi.* Q. Pompeius Rufus, who was consul A. U. C. 613, belonged to this branch, as also Q. Pompeius Rufus, who was consul with

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Sylla, A. U. C. 666, and Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, father of the individual mentioned in the text. The son of that Pompeius who was Sylla's colleague in the consulship became the son-in-law of the latter, and had a daughter, named Pompeia, who married Julius Caesar. 18

14. *Q. Metellus Celer*. A member of the Caecilian house. He obtained the consulship A. U. C. 694. The cognomen of *Celer* was given him from the quickness and despatch with which he provided a show of gladiators after the death of his father, and in the celebration of his obsequies. Thus Plutarch (*vit. Rom.* 10. *ed. Hutten.* vol. 1, p. 52.) observes: Καὶ Κόϊντον Μέτελλον, ὅτι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ἐποίησε, θαυμάσαντες τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς, Κέλερα προσηγόρευσαν.

15. *Permissum*, "full power was given." *Permittere* is "to permit," "to give leave," "to empower.", In the treatise addressed to Herennius, *permissio* is defined to be, "*Rem tradere, et alicujus voluntati concedere.*" *Mandatum*, on the other hand, corresponds very nearly to our English word "commission."

16. *Pro tempore*, &c., "proportioned to the exigency and the danger."

17. *Sestertia centum*, "one hundred thousand sestertii." One thousand *Sestertii* made a *Sestertium*, which is the name of a sum, not of a coin. The common mode of reckoning among the Romans was by *sestertii* or *nummi*. The *sestertius*, "sesterce," was a silver coin worth originally two asses and a half, and marked by the letters L. L. S. for *libra, libra, semis*, (two pounds and a half of copper,) sometimes abbreviated by contracting L. L. into H, thus H. S. unless H be an abbreviation or corruption from I. I. or two marks of unity, which is far more probable. The oldest Roman money was of brass; and an *as*, as a coin, was originally a pound of copper. But after silver began to be coined, (some years before the first Punic war,) the *as* was made to weigh less, at first $\frac{1}{6}$, then $\frac{1}{12}$, then $\frac{1}{24}$, of the original weight, so that the coin, which at first had weighed a pound, at last weighed but half an *uncia*. Of silver coins the denarius was originally equal to 10 asses, and

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18 the *sestertius*, as above mentioned, to two asses and a half Hence the name *sestertius*, which is shortened from *Semistertius*; i. e. the first an *as*, the second an *as*, the *third* a *half as*. (*vid. Schweighaeuser ad Herodot*. 1. 50.—*Matthiae*, G. G. vol. 1, p. 176. *Blomfield's transl.* and *Remarks of editor.*) After the reduction of the *as*, however, to $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pound, the *denarius* became equal to 16 *asses*, and the *sestertius*, or quarter of a *denarius*, was worth now 4 *asses*. A denarius weighed about 73 Paris grains, but under the first emperors it was gradually diminished to 63; so that in the times of the republic 84 made a pound; but under Domitian, it took from 96 to 100. As the silver used in that coin was but little debased by alloy, we may assume that a denarius was equal to a very little more than 15 cents of our money; a sestertius therefore was equal to $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents, and 1000 *sestertii*, or a *sestertium*, to \$$37\frac{50}{100}$. (Zumpt's L. G. p. 235. *Bancroft's translation.*)

18. *Itemque*. Some editions have *itemque decrevere*. Cortius reads *item* [*decrevere.*]

19. *Gladiatoriae familiae*, "troops of gladiators." Gladiators were kept and maintained in schools (*in ludis*) by persons called *Lanistae*, who purchased and trained them. The whole number under one *Lanista*, was called *familia*. Gladiators were at first composed of captives and slaves, or of condemned malefactors. But afterwards, in the days of the emperors, even free born citizens, induced by hire or inclination, fought on the *arena*, some too of noble birth.

20. *Minores magistratus*. The *higher* magistrates were the Consuls, Praetors, and Censors: the *inferior* magistrates were the Aediles, Tribunes, Quaestors, &c. *vid. Aul. Gell.* 13. 15.

21. *Lascivia*. This term is commonly rendered "wantonness," a meaning which cannot apply here with any peculiar or definite force. It appears to us that "devotion to public amusements" will suit the context better. Dureau de Lamalle translates the word in question by "licence dissolue."

22. *Diuturna quies*. From the time of Sylla down to this period, that is, for nearly twenty years, there had been an intermission of civil discord.

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1. *Adflictare sese*, "were plunged in the deepest affliction." The verb *adflictare* is the frequentative of *adfligere*, which properly denotes *ad terram prosternere*, being compounded of *ad*, and *fligere*, "to dash or strike against." 19

2. *Rogitare*, "were making continual enquiries about the conspiracy."

3. *Tamen etsi*, &c., "although precautionary measures were in agitation against him." *Tamen etsi* is an archaism for *tametsi*. The contraction originated in the feeble sound given by the Romans to the letter *n*.

4. *Lege Plautia*. The Plautian, or Plotian, Law was passed A. U. C. 665, having been proposed by M. Plautius Sylvanus, tribune of the commons. It ordained that all who should plot against the senate, offer any violence to the magistrates, appear with a weapon in public, seize upon any of the higher places of the city with seditious views, or beset, with an armed force, the abode of any citizen, should be punished with exile. This law was subsequently put in force against those of the conspirators who had not been capitally dealt with.

5. *L. Paullo*. L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, brother of the Lepidus who was afterwards triumvir with Octavianus and Antony. He was consul with C. Claudius Marcellus, A. U. C. 703, and was put to death by the triumvirate, being given up by his brother.

6. *Postremo*. Sallust here resumes the strict order of the narrative, which had been interrupted by the digression in chapter 28. *Interea Manlius, &c.*

7. *Jurgio*, "by an accusation originating in private animosity." *Jurgium* is used in this same sense by Cicero, (*pro Coel.* 13.) "*Omnia sunt alia non crimina, sed maledicta* jurgii petulantis *magis, quam* publicae quaestionis."

8. *In senatum venit*. This took place on the sixth day before the ides of November, (the 8th of the month, according to our mode of reckoning,) and the meeting of the senate was held in the temple of Jupiter Stator, where Cicero had convened that body. The attempt on the consul's life (*vid.* chap. 28.) was made the day previous. Cicero informs us

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19 that Catiline was shunned by all the assembled senators. *Cic. in Cat.* 2. 6.

9. *Praesentiam ejus timens.* Catiline's presence in the senate, on this occasion, was probably feared by Cicero for two reasons: first, lest, with the aid of those members who were implicated in the conspiracy, he might break forth into some act of violence; and, secondly, lest the very circumstance of his openly appearing in that assembly might lead many to believe that he was an innocent and calumniated man.

10. *Orationem habuit,* &c., "delivered an oration, brilliant in itself, and beneficial in its results to the republic." The speech, to which allusion is here made, was the first oration against Catiline. So splendid a burst of extemporaneous eloquence deserves far higher encomiums than the cold and formal praise bestowed by the historian. This oration of Cicero's proved of service to the state on two accounts: it rendered the conspiracy formed against the republic so clear that no one could doubt its existence, and it compelled Catiline to retire from the city.

11. *Quam postea scriptam edidit,* "which he afterwards committed to writing and published." Elegant Latinity for *quam postea scripsit et edidit.* "In point of effect," observes Mr. Dunlop, "this oration must have been perfectly electric. The disclosure to the criminal himself of his most secret purposes,—their flagitious nature, threatening the life of every one present—the whole course of his villainies and treasons, blazoned forth with the fire of incensed eloquence—and the adjuration to him, by flying from Rome, to free his country from such a pestilence, were all wonderfully calculated to excite astonishment, admiration, and horror." *Dunlop's Roman Literature,* vol. 2, p. 299. Lond. ed.

12. *Adsedit,* "took his seat." *Adsīdĕre* "to sit down," "to take one's seat." *Adsĭdēre* "to keep one's seat," "to be sitting by the side of." The former is compounded of *ad,* and *sīdĕre* "to settle," or "be fixed."

13. *Ut omnia bona in spe haberet,* "as to entertain hopes of enjoying all preferments." Beauzée renders it, "l'autorisaient a prétendre à tout ce qu'il y avoit de mieux."

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14. *Cujus ipsius atque majorum*, &c., "at whose own hands and those of his ancestors, very many kindnesses had been received by the Roman commons." 19

15. *Inquilinus civis*, "an adventitious citizen." *Inquilinus civis* properly denoted one who was not born at Rome, but who possessed the rights of citizenship, having no house of his own, but occupying a hired lodging. Cicero, who was born at Arpinum, is here sneeringly termed an adventitious citizen, lodging in the city. Compare Appian, (*Bell. civ.* 2.) ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους, ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ὀνομάζων· ἐς δὲ ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως, ΙΓΚΟΥΙΛΙΝΟΝ, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.*) states that, on the occasion alluded to in the text, Catiline attempted to address the house in defence of his conduct, before Cicero rose up; but that when he began to speak, the senators interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard. He is silent respecting any reply having been made by him to the oration of the consul. It would appear from this, but more especially from a remark of Cicero's, in his speech for Muraena, (chap. 25.) that the narrative of Sallust is here erroneous. According to Cicero, Catiline uttered a threat similar to that mentioned in the text, a few days before, when replying to Cato, who menaced him in the presence of the senate with a public trial. Cicero, moreover, (2 *Cat.* 6.) in giving an account to the people, on the following day, of what had passed in the senate when he openly charged Catiline with his guilt, states expressly that the latter, in spite of his boldness, did not dare to make any reply to his speech. We find the same remark also in the *Orator*, 37. 129. Florus and Valerius Maximus copy the error of Sallust.

16. *Parricidam.* Catiline is here styled "a parricide," because plotting the destruction of his country, the common parent of all. Compare the language of Cicero, (21. *Cat.* 7.) "*Te patria odit ac metuit, et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de* parricidio suo *cogitare.*"

17. *Incendium meum*, &c., "I will extinguish with their ruin the conflagration which threatens me." A metaphor taken from the demolition of an edifice for the purpose of

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19 stopping a conflagration. The edifice in this case was his native country.

18. *Insidias consuli.* Some understand *factae*, but the ellipsis is unnecessary, as the dative depends at once upon the preceding noun. So, "*Semen satui*," (*Cato. R. R.* 5.) "*Causa rebus creandis*," (*Auson. Ephem.*) "*Rebus humanis praeses*," (*Senec. ad Polyb.* 31.) Compare also our author's own expression in this same chapter, "*insidias consuli maturent.*"

19. *Optumum factum credens*, "believing it his most advisable course." Some editions have *factu*.

20. *Legiones scriberentur.* Alluding to the forces which the praetors Pompeius Rufus and Metellus Celer had been authorised to raise. (chap. 30.)

21. *Nocte intempesta.* The night here alluded to was that which intervened between the 8th and 9th days of November. For an explanation of the phrase, *vid.* note 1, page 17.

22. *Cum paucis.* According to Plutarch, (*Vit. Cic.*) Catiline marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. Appian states that he assumed on his route proconsular dignity: Ὁ μὲν δὴ ῥάβδους τε καὶ πελέκεας, ὥς τις ἀνθύπατος, κούφως μάλα ἀνέσχε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ. (*Appian. Bell. Civ.* 2. 3.) Dio Cassius makes him, after reaching Faesulae, to have taken the title and badges of consul. Καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν, τόν τε πόλεμον ἄντικρυς ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὑπάτων λαβὼν, κ. τ. λ. (*Dio. Cass.* 37. 33.)

20 1. *Prope diem*, "shortly." The more usual orthography is *Propediem*, as one word. The accusative, according to the writers on ellipsis, depends on *ad* understood. (*Palairet's Latin Ellipses*, p. 12.) The adverb *prope* is also not unfrequently joined to a dative. Thus *Virg. Georg.* 1. 355. "*propius stabulis armenta tenerent.*" *Nep. Hann.* 8. *propius Tiberi*, &c.

2. *Ex suo numero.* The common text has *legatos* after these words; but it is more elegantly understood.

3. *Cum mandatis*, "with a message." Beauzée renders it, "avec une sorte de manifeste." But Cortius more correctly makes the communication to have been a verbal one.

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4. *Homini,* "to any individual." Some editions, in place of *homini*, have *aliis*. 20

5. *Plerique patriae,* &c. The student will observe the double construction in this passage, by which *expertes* is first joined with a genitive and immediately after with ablatives. This change of case is not unfrequent in Sallust. Thus, "*Poenam sibi* oneri, *impunitatem* perdundae reipublicae *fore.*" (*Cat. chap.* 46.) "*Ubi videt neque* per vim, *neque* insidiis *opprimi posse.*" (*Jug. chap.* 7.) "*Plerosque* militiae, *paucos* fama *cognitos accire.*" (*Jug. chap.* 84.) Compare Plautus, (*Asin.* 3. 2. 31.) "*Ut* meque, teque, *maxime, atque* ingenio nostro *decuit.*"

6. *Lege uti,* "to avail himself of the benefit of the law." The law here alluded to is commonly called the Papirian, not because proposed by a magistrate of that name, as some imagine, but on account of its having been occasioned by the conduct of a usurer named Lucius Papirius. It was passed A. U. C. 428, and ordained that no person should be held in fetters or stocks, except convicted of a crime, and in order to punishment; but that, for money due, the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be answerable. (*Liv.* 8. 28.) Livy remarks of this law, that it broke one of the strongest bonds of credit. "*Victum eo die, ob impotentem injuriam unius, ingens vinculum fidei.*" On this account, as may well be supposed, it was unfavourably received by the rich, and had to be re-enacted forty years afterwards, at the time of the secession to the Janiculum.

7. *Liberum corpus habere.* The cruelty and oppression, which marked the conduct of the rich towards their unfortunate debtors, occasioned most, if not all, of the disturbances that interfered with the earlier growth of the Roman state. Compare the words of Sallust, in a fragment of his History: "*Servili imperio Patres plebem exercere; de vita atque tergo, regio more, consulere; agro pellere, et, ceteris expertibus, soli in imperio agere. Quibus saevitiis et maxime foeneris onere oppressa plebes, cum assiduis bellis tributum simul et militiam toleraret, armata montem sacrum atque Aventinum insedit.*

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20 Tumque Tribunos plebis et alia sibi jura paravit." (Sall. Hist. frag. lib. 1, prope init.)

8. *Praetoris.* To the praetors belonged the general administration of public justice. The city praetor (*praetor urbanus*) is here alluded to: he took cognizance of all litigations between citizens. The *praetor peregrinus* dispensed justice to foreigners at Rome, or to foreigners and citizens when involved in controversy.

9. *Majores vestrum.* Almost all the manuscripts have *vestri* for *vestrum;* but, according to Aulus Gellius (20. 6.) the oldest copies in his time exhibited *vestrum.* Correct Latinity requires this latter form in the present case. *Nostri* and *vestri* are used when the genitive denotes the object; as *amor nostri, cura nostri, miserere nostri,* &c., but *nostrum* and *vestrum* must be employed when the genitive indicates the subject; as *frequentia vestrum, contentio vestrum,* &c. (*vid. Zumpt. L. G.* p. 241, Kenrick's transl. 2d ed.)

10. *Inopiae opitulati sunt.* Alluding to the laws passed at various times for diminishing the rate of interest.

11. *Argentum aere solutum est,* "silver was paid with brass." The allusion is to the Valerian Law, *de quadrante,* proposed by L. Valerius Flaccus, when consul, A. U. C. 667. By the provisions of this law, the *fourth part* only of the debt was paid, namely, an *as* for a *sestertius,* and a *sestertius* for a *denarius;* or 25 for 100, and 250 for 1000. The sestertius was originally equal to two *asses* and a half; and the *denarius* to ten; when, however, the weight of the *as* was diminished to one ounce, a *denarius* passed for sixteen *asses,* and a *sestertius* for four, which proportion continued when the *as* was reduced to half an ounce. Velleius Paterculus (2. 23.) speaks of the Valerian law above mentioned, in terms of merited reprobation. "*Valerius Flaccus, turpissimae legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi jusserat.*" Montesquieu, on the other hand, praises this law. (*L'Esprit des Lois,* 22. 22.) The error, into which he fell, of mistaking *quadrans,* in the text of Paterculus, as equivalent to *usurae trientes,* after being noticed and corrected by many of the learned, was finally removed from his work.

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12. *Secessit.* Three secessions of the people are recorded in Roman history. The first took place A. U. C. 260, on account of the severity of creditors, and was made to the sacred mount. (*Liv.* 2. 32.) The second was occasioned by the conduct of Appius Claudius, the decemvir, and was made first to the Aventine and afterwards to the sacred mount. (*Liv.* 3. 50.) It happened A. U. C. 305. The third was produced by the same cause as the first, and was made to the Janiculum, A. U. C. 466. (*Liv. epit. lib.* 11.) 20

13. *Nemo bonus,* "no man of spirit."

14. *Amittit,* "parts with." The student will observe that *perdit* would change entirely the spirit of the passage. *Amittere* is simply "to lose the possession of a thing which one has once had." *Perdere,* on the other hand, is "to lose," "destroy," or "throw away uselessly or hurtfully." Thus, in the treatise addressed to Herennius, (4. 44.) we have the following: "*Quod mihi bene videtur Decius intellexisse, qui se devovisse dicitur, et pro legionibus in hostes intulisse medios; unde* amisit *vitam, at non* perdidit." (*vid. Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 1, p. 98, 3d ed.)

15. *Quonam modo,* &c., "in what way we may perish, after having most effectually avenged our blood;" i. e. how we may sell our lives as dearly as possible.

16. *Marcius.* The verb *respondit* is elegantly understood. Thus, *Phaedrus,* 1. 25. 8. "*At ille, facerem mehercule, nisi esse scirem carnis te cupidum meae.*" (*vid.* Palairet's Latin Ellipses, p. 254.)

17. *Optumo cuique,* "to each most eminent person." *Optumo cuique* is here equivalent to *optimatibus singulis.* From a comparison of various passages in Cicero, it would appear that *optimates,* in that writer, denote "persons distinguished by rank or political merit," and sometimes the former only. *Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2, p. 107, 3d ed.

1. *Massiliam,* "Marseilles." A famous city of Gallia Narbonensis, on the shore of the Mediterranean. It was founded by the Phocaean Greeks of Asia Minor, and became a place of refuge to a part of the inhabitants of the parent city, when they fled from the power of Cyrus. It was famous for its 21

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21 commerce, and eminent as a seat of learning. At one period it was much resorted to by the Romans. The date of its foundation is said to have been B. C. 600.

2. *Non quo*, &c., "not that he was conscious to himself," &c. This use of *non quo* for *non quod* has been very much disputed. H. Stephens (*Schediasm.* 2. 7.) and Laurentius Valla (*Eleg.* 2. 37.) particularly oppose it. Tursellinus, on the other hand, successfully defends its correctness, both from the language of manuscripts and the usage of the best writers. (*Turs. de Part.* p. 494, ed. *Lips.* 1769, and p. 240, ed. *Bailey, Lond.* 1828.) It is, however, not to be denied, as Zumpt well observes, that it is safer in general to say *non quod, non eo quod, non ideo quod, non quoniam*, &c. (*Zumpt. L. G.* p. 335. *Kenrick's transl.* 2d *ed.*)

3. *Ex sua contentione*, "from any private quarrel of his."

4. *Recitavit. vid.* note 2, page 18.

5. *Earum exemplum*, "a copy of it." Of course we must regard the letter as genuine, and not the production of the historian.

6. *Q. Catulo S.* The letter *S* is abbreviated from *Salutem*, which is governed by *dicit* understood. The whole expression in the text will be equivalent to "L. Catiline greets Q. Catulus," or, "wishes him health." As regards the epistolary correspondence of the Romans, the following remarks may not be misplaced. If either of the parties was invested with an office, civil or military, it was usual to express it thus: "*P. Serv. Rullus. Trib. pl. x. vir Pompeio Consuli.*" When the person addressed was an intimate friend, they sometimes added the epithets "*Humanissimus*," "*Optimus*," "*Suavissimus*," and very frequently "*Suus*," as "*Praetores Syracusani Marcello suo.*" The "Praeloquium" was sometimes conceived in the following terms: "*Si vales, gaudeo; ego valeo.*" and frequently written in the initials only, S. V. G. E. V. or S. V. B. E. E. V. that is, "*Si vales, bene est, ego valeo.*" The letter frequently ended with the word "*Vale*," sometimes "*Ave*," or "*Salve*," to which, in some instances, was added the expression of endearment, "*Mi anime.*" The place where the letter was written was subjoined, unless previously com-

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municated. The date always expressed the day, frequently 21
the year, and sometimes the hour. They used no signature, or subscription, unless when writing to emperors. There was very rarely an inscription on the outside, the letter being delivered to a letter-carrier, (*Tabellarius,*) who was made acquainted with the person for whom it was intended. The letter was tied round with a string, the knot of which was sealed. The seal was, generally, a head of the letter-writer, or of some of his ancestors, impressed on wax or chalk. Hence the phrases for "to open a letter," are "*vinculum solvere,*" "*incidere linum,*" "*epistolam solvere.*" It was usual also for the bearer of the letter, before it was opened, to request the person to examine the seal, that he might be sure there was no imposture. *Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 1, p. 283, 3d ed. *Lipsii Op.* vol. 2. *Gruter. Thes.* vol. 5.

7. *Egregia tua fides,* &c., "Your distinguished integrity, known to me by experience, has given a pleasing confidence to my present recommendation," i. e. has inspired me with a pleasing confidence in recommending my concerns to your care.

8. *Quamobrem defensionem,* &c., *Defensio* is here opposed to *satisfactio,* and signifies a formal defence in the presence of one's enemies, while *satisfactio* denotes a general explanation, such as may satisfy a friend. The whole passage may hence be rendered as follows: "Wherefore, as regards the novel step which I have taken, I have resolved not to prepare a formal defence of it against my enemies, but, without any consciousness of misconduct, have determined to lay before you such an explanation as may remove the doubts of a friend." The phrase "*ex nulla conscientia* DE CULPA," Burnouf considers a remnant of earlier Latinity, when the preposition, as in our modern tongues, was used to identify individual cases, *de culpa* being here equivalent to *culpae.* We doubt the correctness of this explanation. The preposition appears to be here used with the ablative for the purpose of expressing the slightest possible relation between *conscientia* and *culpa* in the mind of the writer.

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21 9. *Quam.* Referring to *satisfactionem.*

10. *Me dius fidius,* &c., "which, upon my honour as a man, you will find to be true." As regards the expression *dius fidius,* Festus makes it the same as Διος *filius,* "the son of Jove," i. e. Hercules. He states, at the same time, two other explanations; one, which makes it equivalent to *divi fides,* and the other to *diei fides.* All these etymologies are decidedly erroneous. A passage in Plautus, (*Asin.* 1. 1. 8.) furnishes a safer guide. It is as follows: "*Per deum fidium quaeris; jurato mihi video necesse esse eloqui, quidquid roges.*" From this passage we may fairly infer, that, in the phrase under consideration, *dius* is the same as *deus* or *divus,* and *fidius* an adjective formed from *fides.* Hence *dius fidius,* "the god of honour," or "good faith," will be the same as the Ζευς πίστιος of the Greeks; and, if we follow the authority of Varro, (L. L. 4. 10.) identical with the Sabine Sancus, and Roman Hercules: so that *me dius fidius* is nothing more than *me deus fidei* (i. e. Hercules) *adjuvet,* or, in other words, *mehercule.* Respecting the Hercules of the earlier mythology, some curious remarks will be found in *Ritter's Vorhalle,* p. 375. seqq.

11. *Fructu laboris.* Alluding to the consulship, which he had sought ineffectually.

12. *Statum dignitatis,* "that station in the republic to which I was fairly entitled." Compare chap. 18. "*Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere,*" &c.

13. *Meis nominibus,* "of my own contracting."——*alienis nominibus,* "contracted by others, and for which I had become surety." Among the Romans, it was a customary formality, in borrowing money, to write down the sum and subscribe the person's name in the banker's books. Hence *nomen* is put for a debt, for the cause of a debt, for an article of account, &c.

14. *Non dignos homines,* &c., "unworthy men graced with honour;" i. e. raised to high preferment.

15. *Falsa suspicione alienatum,* "alienated from public favour through groundless suspicion."

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16. *Hoc nomine*, &c., "On this account I have pursued a course sufficiently honourable, considering my calamitous situation, and one which leads me to entertain the hope of preserving what consideration there is left me." 21

17. *Eam ab injuria defendas*, &c., "Defend her from injury, being intreated so to do by the love you bear to your own offspring."

18. *Haveto*. An archaism for *Aveto*. Catullus uses this form (101. 10.) "*Have atque Vale.*" Comp. *Quintilian*, 1. 6. 21. ed. Spalding. Whiter's etymology of the word is extremely ingenious: "*Have* or *Ave* is nothing but *Habe*, have, possess,—riches, honours, health."

19. *In agro Arretino*. The common text has *Reatino*. As *Reate*, however, was a town of the Sabines, and as Catiline was proceeding along the Aurelian way, under the pretence of retiring to Massilia, but in reality to join Manlius, it is far preferable to adopt *Arretino* as the lection, *Arretium* (now *Arezzo*) being an ancient city of Etruria.

20. *Cum fascibus*, &c. Compare the language of Cicero, (2. *Cat.* 6.) "*Quum haesitaret, quum teneretur, quaesivi quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo jampridem pararet; quum arma, quum* secures, *quum* fasces, *quum* tubas, *quum* signa militaria, *quum* aquilam *illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam.*"——*Hostes*, "public enemies." *Hostis* denotes an avowed and public enemy, either to an individual, or to a people, or party. *Inimicus* (i. e. *non amicus*,) is a man bearing enmity to another individually, that enmity being of a private nature. A similar distinction prevails in Greek. Thus Ammonius (Περὶ διαφ. λεξ. s. v. ἐχθρὸς.) observes: Ἐχθρὸς μέν ἐστιν ὁ πρότερον φίλος· Πολέμιος δὲ ὁ μεθ' ὅπλων χωρῶν πέλας. (Compare *Valck. ad loc.*) Hence πολέμιος will be equivalent to *hostis*, and ἐχθρὸς to *inimicus*. The original meaning of *hostis* is thus explained by Cicero: "*Hostis apud majores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus.*" (*De Off.* 1. 12. 1. ed. Heus.) To the same effect is the remark of Varro, (*L. L.* 4. pr.) "*Multa verba aliud nunc ostendunt, aliud ante significabant, ut hostis. Nam tum eo verbo dicebant peregrinum, qui suis legibus uteretur: nunc dicunt eum,*

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21 *quem tum dicebant perduellem.*" So that *hostis* originally meant nothing more than "a foreigner," and the term for "public enemy," in that state of the language, was "*perduellis.*" This change of meaning furnishes a good comment on the tardy civilization of the Romans.

21. *Sine fraude,* "with impunity," or "with the assurance of safety." Compare the words of Ulpian, (*leg.* 131. *de V. S.*) "*Aliud* fraus *est, aliud* poena. Fraus *enim sine poena esse potest:* poena *sine fraude esse non potest.* Poena *est noxae vindicta;* fraus *et ipsa noxa dicitur, et quasi poenae quaedam praeparatio.*"

22. *Praeter . . . . . condemnatis.* In this clause, *condemnatis* depends on *liceret,* and *praeter* is used adverbially for *praeterquam.* The instances, however, of such a usage are not of very frequent occurrence. We have one in Justin, (13. 5.) "*Alexander epistolas in Graeciam scripserat, quibus omnium civitatum exules,* praeter *caedis* damnati, *restituebantur.*" (*vid. Graev. ad loc.*) Another example is found in Suetonius, though not so conclusive as the first: "*reliquerit eum nullo,* praeter *auguralis sacerdotii,* honore *impertitum.*" (*Claud.* 4. vol. 2, p. 10. *ed. Crus.*)

22 1. *Dilectum.* Some editions prefer *delectum.* The orthography, however, is hardly indifferent; *delectus* is from *deligo; dilectus,* from *dilego* "to choose from various quarters;" (*diversim* and *lego.*) In Oudendorp's edition of Caesar, *dilectus* is always preferred, and so also in that of Oberlin, who states in the *Index Latinitatis* that the greater number of MSS. give this latter form. The manner of holding a *dilectus,* or "levy," was as follows. The consuls appointed a day, on which all those who were of the military age, were to be present in the capitol. When the day arrived, the consuls, seated in their curule chairs, held a levy, by ordering such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty. They were careful to choose those first who had what they thought lucky names, as *Valerius, Salvius, Statorius,* &c. Their names were written down on tables, hence *scribere,* "to enlist," "to

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levy," or "raise." It was determined by lot in what manner 22
the tribes should be called.

2 *Paterent.* Some editions have *parerent,* which appears pleonastic after *domita armis.*

3. *Duobus senati decretis,* "notwithstanding two decrees of the senate." Though two decrees of the senate had been made. There is here an ellipsis of *factis.* The first of these ordinances is mentioned in chap. 30.

4. *Tanta vis morbi, uti tabes,* "so violent a malady, like some corroding poison," &c. The distemper or malady, here alluded to, is the desire of a change which influenced, at that period, the minds of so large a number, and produced a disaffection to the state. Burnouf and others make *tabes* here equivalent to *contagio,* but with little propriety as we conceive. Some editions have *tanta vis morbi atque uti tabes,* which Beauzée adopts, and renders the passage as follows: "Tant la violence, et, pour ainsi dire, la contagion de cette espèce de maladie, avoit infecté," &c.

5. *Aliena,* "alienated from the public welfare."——*omnino,* "in general."

6. *Adeo,* "indeed." The primitive meaning of *adeo* is "so," "so far," "to such a degree." In the present instance, however, its use appears peculiarly elegant, and Burnouf paraphrases it by "*ita enim se res habent,*" or, as we would express it in English, "indeed," "in fact," "without doubt," &c. Compare *Cic. in Verr.* 6. 64. "*Id adeo ex ipso senatus consulto cognoscite.*" and also, *pro Caecin.* 30. "*Id adeo, si placet, considerate.*" To which we may add the remark of Tursellinus, (*de partic.* p. 36. *ed. Lips.*—p. 29. *ed. Bailey.*) "*Vis, quae est in hoc usu, sane elegantissimo, hujus particulae, vix potest uno verbo exprimi, quod in omnia loca conveniat, sentiturque facilius quam exprimitur. Interdum enim significat aliquam consequentiam, interdum explicationi, narrationi, &c., servit.*" *vid. Jug.* chap. 65. *ibid.* chap. 110.

7. *Quis opes nullae sunt,* "they who have no resources of their own, look with an evil eye on the higher class of citizens, elevate to office those who are of the same stamp with themselves." *Quis* is put for *quibus.* By *bonos* are here

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22 meant, not the good and virtuous merely, but, generally speaking, the better class of citizens, who are always more or less averse to violent changes in the state, as well from principle, as from the danger which might result to their private affairs. By *malos*, on the other hand, are meant the needy and unprincipled. Compare Plautus, (*Captiv.* 3. 4. 51.) "*Est* miserorum *ut* malevolentes *sint atque* invideant bonis."

8. *Turba*, "by public disturbance."——*sine cura*, "without any apprehension for themselves."——*habetur*, "is kept," or "exists." The idea expressed in the text, when paraphrased, will be, "since poverty does not easily suffer loss."

9. *Plebes*. To be construed as the nominative absolute. Some editions read *a vero* instead of *ea vero*, removing at the same time the comma after *plebes*, which of course alters the construction. This emendation, however, is far inferior to the reading in our text. From a view of the context it will appear, that Sallust first speaks of the people in general, the people of the whole empire, (*cuncta plebes omnino.*) He then particularises the people of the capital, and remarks, that with regard to them there were other and more special reasons, the operation of which led them to favour the designs of Catiline.

10. *Primum omnium*. Opposed, not to *item* and *postremo*, in the same sentence, but to *Deinde*, at the commencement of the next.

11. *Per dedecora*, "by disgraceful excesses."

12. *Sicuti in sentinam*, "as into some impure receptacle." *Sentina* is properly the bottom of a ship, where the bilge-water collects. It is applied also by Cicero to the rabble, &c.

13. *Gregariis militibus*, "common soldiers."

14. *Regio victu*, "with all the luxury of kings."

15. *Si in armis forent*. The Aldine reading, which some retain, is *si victoria in armis foret, talia sperabat*.

16. *Privatis atque publicis largitionibus*. The private largesses were bestowed either by the candidates for public favour, or by those who had already enjoyed it: the public have reference to the corn distributed among the lower orders

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at the expense of the state: five bushels monthly to each man. 22
Compare Sallust, (*Hist. frag. ed. Cort.* p. 974.) "*Qua tamen quinis modiis libertatem omnium aestumavere,*" &c., and also Suetonius, (*Aug.* 40. vol. 1, p. 274, ed. Crus.) "*At ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius a negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternûm mensium tesseras dare destinavit,*" &c.——*excita,* "urged on," or, "aroused." *Excĭtus,* with the short penult, as we have it here, comes from *excieo,* whereas *excītus,* "called forth," belongs to *excio.* The same remark will apply to the other compounds of *cieo* and *cio:* thus *percĭtus,* "roused;" *excĭtus,* "stirred up;" but *excītus,* (from *excio*) "called forth:" *accītus,* (from *accio*) "called to one," &c.

1. *Reipublicae juxta,* &c., "showed no more regard to the public interest than to their own;" i. e. were equally neglectful of their own and the public good. For this adverbial use of *juxta,* compare chap. 61. "*Ita cuncti suae atque hostium vitae juxta pepercerant.*" 23

2. *Jus libertatis imminutum erat.* Alluding to a law enacted by Sylla, when dictator, (*Lex Cornelia,* A. U. C. 673.) which declared the children of proscribed persons incapable of holding any public office. Compare Velleius Paterculus, (2. 28.) "*exclusique paternis opibus liberi;*" and Plutarch, (*vit. Syll.*) ὃ δὲ πάντων ἀδικώτατον ἔδοξε, τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἠτίμασε καὶ υἱοὺς καὶ υἱωνοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντων ἐδήμευσε. To the same effect are the words of Aemilius Lepidus, as given by Sallust, (*Hist. frag. lib.* 1, p. 936, *ed. Cort.*) About twenty years after this event, a powerful effort was made by the individuals who were suffering under the operation of this law, to have it repealed. Cicero was at that time consul, and by his strenuous exertions defeated the application. Of the oration delivered by him on this occasion, (*De proscriptorum liberis,*) a solitary fragment is preserved by Quintilian, (11. 1.) "*Quid enim crudelius quam homines honestis parentibus ac majoribus natos a republica submoveri? Sed ita legibus Syllae continetur status civitatis, ut, his solutis, stare ipsa non possit.*" (*Cic. Op. ed. Olivet.* vol. 6, p. 479.) Cicero himself alludes to his conduct in this affair, in his oration against Piso, (chap. 2.) He allowed the claim to be perfectly reasonable, but argued against it

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23 on the ground of state-policy. Julius Caesar, however, subsequently abrogated this unjust ordinance. Thus Suetonius, (*Jul.* 41.) remarks, "*Admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos;*" and Plutarch, (*Vit. Caes.*) αἱρεθεὶς δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, φυγάδας τε κατήγαγε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα δυστυχησάντων τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτίμους ἐποίησε. Comp. *Dio Cass.* 41. 18. *Sigon. ad Cic. l. c. Crus. ad Suet. l. c.*

3. *Aliarum atque senati*, &c., "of a different party from that of the senate." *Atque* and *ac* after *alius, aliter, alter, secus,* &c., have the force of *quam;* after *juxta, aeque,* &c., they serve for *ut*, "as." This idiom is very ingeniously explained by Hunter, (*ad Liv.* 1. 9.) on the principle of cross-reference. Thus, *Tu fecisti aliter, atque ego,* is equivalent to *Tu fecisti aliter, atque ego feci aliter,* "you have acted differently, and I have acted differently." By applying the principle of cross-reference, this becomes, "you have acted differently from me, and I differently from you."

4. *Id adeo malum,* &c., "with such violence had that evil, after many years of cessation, returned upon the state." *Adeo* appears to have, in this passage, the force of *in tantum.* (Compare *Tursellin. de part. s. v.*) Dureau de Lamalle gives it the same meaning: "Tant ces funestes rivalités, long-temps assoupies, s'étaient réveillées avec plus de fureur que jamais!"

5. *Tribunicia potestas restituta.* The tribunes of the commons were originally created A. U. C. 260, at the time of the secession to the sacred mount, for the purpose of protecting the rights of the people. Under the sanction, however, of the law which made their persons sacred, they subsequently carried their power to the most extravagant height. Sylla abridged, and in a manner extinguished, that power, by enacting, that whoever had been tribune should not afterwards enjoy any other magistracy; that there should be no appeal to the tribunes; that they should not be allowed to assemble the people and make harangues to them, nor propose laws, but should only retain the right of intercession. In the consulship of Cotta, however, (A. U. C. 679.) they again obtained the right of enjoying other offices; and in that of Pompey and Crassus,

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A. U. C. 683, all their former powers. Pompey's conduct in this affair is very justly condemned by Cicero, since the tribunes now became mere tools in the hands of the ambitious and powerful. 23

6. *Summam potestatem nacti.* We have, in accordance with the opinion of Cortius, enclosed these words within brackets, as labouring under the suspicion of having been interpolated. They are not necessary to the sense, as by *summam potestatem* is meant the tribunician power which has already been mentioned in the preceding clause.

7. *Quibus aetas animusque ferox,* "whose age and character were violent;" i. e. urged on by the fire of youth and the violence of their characters.

8. *Senati specie,* &c., "under the pretence, indeed, of supporting the authority of the senate, but in reality for their own advancement."

9. *Namque uti paucis absolvam.* Some editions insert *verum* before *absolvam,* but the reading we have adopted is more in accordance with the conciseness of Sallust.

10. *Honestis nominibus,* "under fair pretexts."

11. *Neque modestia neque modus,* "neither moderation nor limit."

12. *Maritimum.* The maritime war against the Cilicians, supported by Mithridates, called also the piratical war. The Cilician pirates, covered every sea with their fleets, and extended their depredations even to the coast of Italy and the mouth of the Tiber. Pompey was sent against them, by virtue of the Gabinian law, A. U. C. 687, and brought the war to a conclusion within the space of forty days. Compare *Vell. Pat.* 2. 31 *et* 32: *Florus,* 3. 6: *Cic. pro Lege Manil: Plut Vit. Pomp.*

13. *Mithridaticum.* The war with Mithridates, king of Pontus, one of the ablest monarchs with whom the Romans ever had to contend. His character is briefly but ably drawn by Velleius Paterculus, (2. 18. 2.) "*Vir neque silendus, neque dicendus sine cura, bello acerrimus, virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal.*" Lucullus carried on the war against

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23 him for nearly seven years, at the expiration of which period he was recalled by the senate, and Pompey, who had just ended the piratical war, was, by the Manilian Law, sent against Mithridates.

14. *Plebis opes imminutae.* The authority of the people was weakened by the high powers delegated to a single individual, Pompey.

15. *Innoxii.* The adjective is here used passively, "unhurt," or, less literally, "free from all danger of attack." Compare Lucan, (9. 894.)

————————" *Gens unica terras*
*Incolit a saevo serpentum innoxia morsu.*"

16. *Ceteros judiciis terrere,* "they alarmed the rest by the rigour of their judicial investigations."

17. *Placidius,* "more peaceably." The meaning of the clause is, that those who filled offices of magistracy, especially the tribuneship, might be less disposed to stir up commotions among the people, through dread of prosecution by the nobility, after the expiration of their offices.

18. *Ubi primum,* &c. Gruter suggests *novandi,* which Cortius acknowledges would make an easier construction, though it would be less in accordance with the style of Sallust, than the present reading *novandis.* Some editions adopt Gruter's suggestion of *novandi,* and place a comma after *primum,* and another after *rebus.* We have given the reading of Cortius, which may be rendered as follows: "As soon as the hope was presented to their view of effecting some change in the adverse condition of their affairs."

19. *Vetus certamen.* "The old controversy," i. e. between the patricians and plebeians.——*eorum,* referring to the plebeians.

20. *Aequa manu,* &c., "had left the field on equal terms with the forces of the republic."

21. *Magna clades,* &c. "*Clades,*" observes Hill, "differs from *calamitas* in denoting that the misfortune is less grievous, from being partial, and though inconsistent with the sound

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state of that affected by it, yet does not naturally lead to its 23
destruction. It comes from κλάδος, *ramus*, and refers to the accidental rubbing off of a branch, which may injure, though it does not kill, the tree. *Calamitas*, on the other hand, is a derivative from *calamus*, and has reference to the storm which breaks the stalk, and, of course, destroys the crop. From the misfortune peculiar to the farmer, it has been transferred to all other kinds, and denotes such only as are severely felt, and threaten the destruction of the persons who sustain them." (*Hill's Synonyms*, p. 160, 4to *ed.*)

22. *Exsanguibus*, "completely exhausted." Compare Cicero, (*pro Sext.* 10.) "*Hominibus enervatis atque exsanguibus consulatus . . . . . datus est.*"

1. *Extra conjurationem*, "unconnected with the conspi- 24
racy."

2. *A. Fulvius*. As Valerius Maximus, (5. 8. 5.) in mentioning this same circumstance, calls the name of the father A. Fulvius, Cortius thinks it probable that Sallust wrote *A. Fulvii senatoris filius*. Dio Cassius (37. 36.) incorrectly makes the son himself a senator: Αὖλον δὲ Φούλβιον, ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν. (*vid. Reimar. ad loc.*)

3. *Parens necari jussit*. Fathers, among the Romans, had the power of life and death over their children. Hence a father is called a domestic judge or magistrate, by Seneca; and a censor of his son, by Suetonius, (*Vit. Claud.* 16.) Valerius Maximus, (l. c.) in relating this affair of the punishment of Fulvius, adds, that the father told the son he had begotten him, not for Catiline against his country, but for his country against Catiline. "*Non se Catilinae illum adversus patriam, sed patriae, adversus Catilinam, genuisse.*"

4. *Quod modo*, &c., "provided only they might be of service for the approaching contest." The word *bello* occupies different places in different MSS. Cortius therefore with very good reason considers it as spurious.

5. *Allobrogum*. A people of Gaul, whose country lay between the Isara (now *Isere*) and Rhodanus (*Rhone*.) They bravely and for a long time resisted the power of the Roman legions, but were at last reduced by Q. Fabius Maximus, who

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24 hence obtained the cognomen of *Allobrogicus*. Their chief town was Vienna (now *Vienne*) on the left bank of the Rhone, 13 miles below Lugdunum (*Lyons*.)

6. *Gens Gallica*, &c. Compare Cato, (*Origin.*) "*Pleraque Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui*:" and also Justin, (25. 3.) "*Neque reges orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu ulla bella gesserunt, neque pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerunt. Tantus terror Gallici nominis et armorum invicta felicitas erat*," &c. *Vid. etiam Caes. B. G.* 3. 19.—6. 24.

7. *Negotiatus*. Understand *erat*. "had traded." Cortius distinguishes as follows between the *negotiatores* and *mercatores* among the Romans. The *negotiatores*, especially under the republic, were they who remained for some considerable time in one particular place, whether at Rome or in the provinces. The *mercatores*, on the contrary, remained a very short time in any place; they visited many countries, and were almost constantly occupied with importing or exporting articles of merchandise. That the employments of the *negotiator* and the *mercator* were not the same, is clear from a passage in Cicero. "*Postulo mihi respondeat qui sit iste Venutius: mercator an negotiator*." (*in Verr.* 4. 77.)

8. *Principibus*, "leading men."——*noverat*. *Noscere* is "to know," or "to be acquainted with any thing as an object of perception"—"to have an idea" or "notion of it, as apprehended by the mind." *Scire* is "to know any thing as a matter of fact, or any truth as an object of conviction." The following examples will explain this difference more fully: "*Hominem novi, et dominus qui nunc est scio*." (*Plaut. Rud.* 4. 3. 26.) "I am acquainted with the man, and I know who his master is." The latter clause, however, does not imply any personal knowledge of the master. He might know him only by name. "*Non norunt, scio*." (*Plaut. Cas. Prol.*) "They are not acquainted with the play," *not having seen it performed*—"*this circumstance* I know." (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 82. 3d ed.)

9. *Percunctatus*. *Percunctari* (or *percontari*) means "to sift to the bottom by search or enquiry," "to pry," and has, ac-

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cording to Dumesnil, a relation very often to public news. 24
It is derived probably from *per* and *contus* (quasi *per contum exquirere,*) and expresses a sifting and inquisitive manner of asking. *Percunctari,* moreover, answers to the Greek *πυνθάνεσθαι,* and always requires a detailed reply.

10. *Videt.* This verb is here used instead of *audit.* Compare Cicero (*pro Arch.* 8.) "*Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi . . . . . dicere ex tempore.*"

11. *Si modo,* &c., "provided only you are inclined to act the part of men."

12. *Quin.* In the sense of *quod non,* which is the reading of some editions.

13. *D. Bruti.* Decimus Junius Brutus, of whom mention has already been made.

14. *Ab Roma aberat.* This is one of the examples which Priscian adduces for the purpose of shewing, that the preposition is often, more especially by historians, added to the ablative of names of places.

15. *Quo major auctoritas,* &c., "that what he should say might have greater weight."

16. *Innoxios,* "innocent persons;" i. e. individuals unconnected with the conspiracy. The adjective is here used in what the grammarians call an active sense. Compare note 15, page 23.——*quo legatis animus amplior esset,* "that the ambassadors might be inspired with more courage to act."

1. *Majores opes,* "more powerful resources;" those namely 25
of the republic. Dureau de Lamalle renders the phrase by, "une grande masse de puissance."

2. *Patrocinio.* Individual noblemen, or particular families of illustrious rank, were sometimes patrons of whole states. These patrons were generally those who had reduced them under the Roman power, or had, at some time or other, been appointed governors over them: and the rights of patronage were transmitted by them to their descendants. In the present instance Q. Fabius Sanga derived his right of patronage from his ancestor Q. Fabius Maximus, who finally reduced the Allobroges, and hence was surnamed *Allobrogicus.*

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25 3. *Consilio cognito,* "having learned the plot."——*studium conjurationis,* &c., "to feign a strong desire for the success of the conspiracy."

4. *Bene polliceantur,* "to promise fair." *Bene* is here equivalent to *bona quaeque.*

5. *Gallia citeriore.* Hither or Cisalpine Gaul, lying south of the Alps, and forming the northern division of Italy. The term *citerior* is applied in reference to Rome.

6. *Bruttio.* Bruttium, or Bruttiorum Ager, formed one of the divisions of Magna Graecia, and answers at the present day to *Calabria Oltra.* The name, which in its Greek form is Βρεττία, is said to have been derived from the circumstance of the Bruttii having revolted from the Lucanians. Βρεττίους γὰρ καλοῦσι ἀποστάτας, says Strabo, speaking of the Lucanians.

7. *Cuncta simul agere,* "put all their schemes in operation at one and the same moment." Cortius wishes to exclude *cuncta simul* from the text, in opposition to all the manuscripts.

8. *Festinando, agitando omnia,* "by their precipitate movements, by their throwing all things into confusion."

9. *C. Murena.* Brother of Licinius Murena, consul elect. The common reading *in citeriore Gallia* has been emended by Cortius, and *in ulteriore Gallia* substituted. There can be no doubt whatever as to the correctness of this alteration. Celer was in hither Gaul, and Murena, as appears plainly from Cicero (*pro Murena,* 41.) was in Transalpine or farther Gaul.

10. *Legatus.* A proconsul or propraetor chose a *legatus* to accompany him to his province, and assist him in the discharge of his public duties. Thus Cicero, for example, when he went as proconsul into Cilicia, A. U. C. 702, chose for his legatus his brother Quintus. In the absence of the governor of the province, the legatus exercised full control over it, and had equal authority and jurisdiction. Sometimes the governor remained at home, and merely sent out the legatus to the province; and at other times the senate, without naming any proconsul or propraetor, merely sent out a legatus. This last was the case with C. Murena.

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11. *Videbantur*. Understand *illae*, referring to *copiae*. 25

12. *Constituerant*. The verb is put in the plural, as if *Lentulus cum ceteris* were a double nominative. "We sometimes find," observes Scheller, "a plural verb after a single subject or person, which, however, is united to another subject by *cum:* since they are there regarded as two subjects or nominatives: thus *Liv.* 21. 60. "*Atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur.*" So also, *Sallust, Jug.* 101. "*Bocchus cum peditibus . . . . postremam Romanam aciem invadunt.*" *Nepos. Phoc.* 2. "*Demosthenes cum ceteris . . . . populiscito in exsilium erant expulsi.*" &c. (*Scheller L. G. Walker's transl.* vol. 1, p. 334.)

13. *Actionibus*, "the proceedings," "the acts." Alluding to Cicero's having driven Catiline from the city, and excited, as they maintained, the most groundless suspicions against many innocent individuals. Compare Appian (*B. C.* 2. 3.) Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν, τὸν δήμαρχον, ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν, καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡς ἀεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος. Plutarch informs us, (*Vit. Cic.* 23. vol. 5, p. 336. *ed. Hutten.*) that, after the conspiracy had been completely crushed, the tribunes, Metellus and Bestia, having entered upon their office a few days before that of Cicero expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the rostra, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office, after which he was immediately to descend. Accordingly, when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but, silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the empire:" (ἦ μὴν σεσωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ διατετηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.) and all the people joined in it.

14. *Invidiam*, "the blame."——*optumo consuli*. Some have regarded this expression on the part of the historian as extremely honourable, considering the private feud which existed between him and Cicero. We should be inclined to put a different construction upon it. Nothing appears to us more frigid than this language of Sallust respecting one who had

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25 been the preserver of his country. And that it would sound so in fact to a Roman ear, may be clearly inferred from a passage in one of the letters of Cicero to Atticus, (12. 21.) in which he speaks of Brutus having applied this same expression to him: "*Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. Quis enim jejunius dixit inimicus?*"

15. *Proxima nocte.* Plutarch states, that one of the nights of the Saturnalia had been fixed for the perpetration of the horrid deeds mentioned in the text. The testimony of Cicero is to the same effect, (3 *in Cat.* 4.) The celebration of the Saturnalia commenced on the 17th day of December, so that Bestia was to have delivered his intended harangue a few days after he had entered upon his office, which, in the case of the tribunes, was the 10th of the same month. On the 5th of December, however, the conspirators were put to death.

16. *Divisa,* "assigned."

17. *Duodecim simul opportuna,* &c. Plutarch's statement differs from that of Sallust. He informs us that the conspirators had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general. Others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

18. *Obsidĕret,* "should beset." A verb of the third conjugation, *obsido, ĕre.*

26 1. *Alius autem alium.* Understand *adgrederetur.* "That one should attack one, another attack another:" i. e. that each should single out his victim.

2. *Filii familiarum.* To these Cicero is thought to allude, (2. *in Cat.* 3.) "*Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura,*" &c.

3. *Parata.* Plutarch states, that Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, who had been sent to Cethegus's house, found there

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a large quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, 26
all newly furbished.

4. *Dies prolatando*, "by putting off the day of execution."

5. *Conveniunt*, "obtain an interview with." The following examples, with reference to the construction of *convenio*, may not be misplaced. *Convenire in urbem*, "to come into the city and assemble." *Convenire in urbe*, "to assemble in the city, having been there before." *Convenire aliquem*, "to speak to any one," or "to have an interview with him." *Convenit hoc mihi*, "this suits me," or "is convenient to me." *Convenit mihi cum illo*, "I agree with him."

6. *Jusjurandum*, "an oath:" i. e. a written promise in the language and form of an oath, that the conspirators would afford relief to the Allobroges, if the latter joined in the plot, and it should prove successful.

7. *Signatum*, "with their respective seals affixed."

8. *Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant.* Compare Cicero, (3. *in Cat.* 5.) "*Tabulae proferri jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primum ostendimus Cethego; signum cognorit.*"

9. *Crotoniensem*, "a native of Crotona." Crotona was a large and famous city of Magna Graecia, on the coast of Bruttium, north-west of the Lacinian promontory. It was founded by a Grecian colony, in the third year of the 17th Olympiad, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a short time after the commencement of Numa's reign at Rome. Pythagoras established his school in Crotona, and is said, by his doctrine and example, to have greatly reformed the dissolute manners of the people.

10. *Fac cogites*, &c., "see that you reflect in how desperate a situation you are."

11. *Tuae rationes*, "your present circumstances."

12. *Etiam ab infimis.* From what follows *(quo consilio servitia repudiet)* it is evident that by *infimi*, "persons of the lowest condition," are meant the slaves. As regards the language of this letter, it may not be amiss to state that Cicero gives it somewhat differently, (3. *in Cat.* 5.) It is more than

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26 probable, however, that the orator merely stated the purport of it from memory, while Sallust had access to the original among the archives of the state: for the words of the historian, (*quarum exemplum infra scriptum,*) plainly shew that we have here a copy of the original document.

13. *Mandata verbis dat,* "he gives him a verbal message."

14. *L. Valerio Flacco.* This individual was a descendant of P. Valerius Poplicola, who was consul with M. Junius Brutus. After holding the office of military tribune in Cilicia, and being quaestor in Spain, he obtained the station of praetor during the consulship of Cicero. After the expiration of this latter office, he succeeded to the government of Asia, and on his return was arraigned for extortion, but acquitted through the exertions of Cicero and Hortensius. Cicero's speech in his defence is still extant.

15. *C. Pomtino.* A native of Suessa Pometia. After his praetorship, he succeeded Murena in Transalpine Gaul, defeated the Allobroges who had revolted, and reduced the country to tranquillity, for which he had the honour of a triumph. Cicero subsequently employed him as his lieutenant in Cilicia.

16. *Mulvio.* Now *Ponte Molle,* one of the bridges over the Tiber. It was built by M. Aemilius Scaurus, from a corruption of whose *nomen,* (Aemilius,) the appellation Mulvius is thought to have originated. At this bridge commenced the *Via Flaminia,* which led from Rome to Ariminum.

17. *Comitatus,* "the retinue."

27 1. *Cetera, uti facto,* &c., "he authorises them to execute the rest of the affair in such a way as the occasion may require."

2. *Homines militares.* Understand *Praetores.* "The Praetors, men of military experience."

3. *Praesidiis collocatis.* Compare Cicero, (3. *in Cat.* 2.) "*Illi autem . . . . . . . cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi, sine cujusquam suspicione, multos fortes viros edux-*

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*erunt, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera in republica assidue utor, praesidio cum gladiis miseram.*" 27

4. *Cito cognito consilio.* The Bipont edition omits *cito*, and Gruter all three words. They are retained, however, and on good grounds, by Cortius, Burnouf, Planche, &c. Gruter thinks, that, as the Gauls informed the consul of the night when they were to set out, they must of course have known that they would be arrested. This may all very well be, and yet the presence of *cito* in the text, as well as of *cognito consilio*, is perfectly proper. The Gauls in an instant understood the nature of the affair, being previously convinced that an arrest would take place. Had Sallust, moreover, only written *cognito consilio*, the inquiry would naturally be made by the reader, whether the consul's plan was then for the first time discovered by them, or whether they had surmised what it would be, long before it was carried into execution.

5. *Multa*, "earnestly."

6. *Quibus rebus confectis*, &c. The night of the arrest was that of the 2d December.

7. *Laetabatur. Gaudere* denotes "to feel the calm and rational emotion of joy;"—*Laetari*, "to be overjoyed," or "to be transported with joy." Cicero ranks *laetitia* among the "*perturbationes animi*," or "*appetitus vehementiores*." (*Tusc. Quaest.* 4.) and observes that *laetitia* occasions "*profusam hilaritatem*," "extravagant gaiety:" "intemperate gladness, or mirth." It is to be observed, however, that *laetitia* and *laetor* do not always denote "unbecoming triumph," or "intemperate joy." Cicero himself, speaking of his own deportment, where no censure is intended, says, "*Nulla enim re tam laetari soleo, quam meorum officiorum conscientia.*" (*Fam. Ep.* 5. 7.) *Laetitia*, in like manner, is represented as either moderate, or excessive; thus, "*Admiratus rex tanta magnitudine animi oppetere mortem, revocari eos jussit, causam tam effusae laetitiae, quum supplicium ante oculos haberent, requirens.*" (*Curt.* 7. 10.)—"*Militantium nec indignatio nec laetitia moderata est.*" (*Curt.* 7. 1.) The chief distinction, however, between *gaudere* and *laetari*, *gaudium* and *laetitia*, is this; that

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27 *gaudere* and *gaudium* refer to the simple emotion of joy, but *laetari* and *laetitia* to the expression of that emotion. (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 323. 3d ed.)

8. *Sibi oneri*, "a source of odium against himself." This apprehension was fully verified by the result. The preserver of his country was driven into exile by the faction of Clodius. Compare Cic. de Orat. 1. 1. "*Et hoc tempus omne post consulatum objecimus iis fluctibus qui, per nos a communi peste depulsi, in nosmetipsos redundarunt.*"

9. *Perdundae reipublicae*, "a cause of ruin to the republic." *vid.* note 3, page 5.

10. *Terracinensem.* A native of Terracina, a city of the Volsci, near the coast of the Lower sea, and lying north-east of the promontory of Circeii. It was also named Anxur. The modern town occupies the site of the ancient place, and is still called Terracina.

11. *Ex urbe.* Cortius, without any very satisfactory reason, encloses these words within brackets, as labouring under the suspicion of not being genuine.

12. *Perducit.* Before this word some editions have *in senatum*, which is unnecessary, as *in aedem Concordiae* follows immediately after.

13. *Concordiae.* The temple here meant stood on that side of the Capitoline hill which faced the Forum. It was erected by Camillus, in accordance with a vow, on account of the reestablishment of harmony between the senate and people. L. Opimius embellished it after the death of Caius Gracchus, and meetings of the senate were frequently held within its walls. Some few columns still remain.

14. *Magnaque frequentia*, &c., "and in a very full meeting of that order," or "in a very full house."

15. *Volturcium cum legatis introducit.* Cicero states, (3 *in Cat.* 4,) that he first introduced Volturcius without the Gauls, and afterwards brought in the Gauls themselves.

16. *Scrinium cum litteris*, "the box containing the letters." It will be recollected that the box contained the letter of Lentulus to Catiline, and also the written oath of the conspirators.

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17. *Quid, aut qua de causa,* &c., "what design he had in view, or why he entertained such a design." Equivalent to "*Quid consilii, aut qua de causa id consilii habuisset?*" 27

18. *Alia,* "things other than the truth."

19. *Fide publica,* "on the public faith being pledged for his safety."

1. *Audire.* Compare Cicero, (3 *in Cat.* 4.) who fully confirms the account here given by Sallust. 28

2. *Libris Sibyllinis.* A certain woman, named Amalthaea, from a foreign country, offered for sale to Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, nine books of the Sibylline, or prophetic oracles, but at an exorbitant price; which Tarquin refusing, she burnt three of them, still demanding the same price for the remaining six. Being ridiculed by the king, she burnt three more, without abating her price for the remaining three. Tarquin, surprised at her strange conduct, consulted the augurs, who, regretting the loss of the books which had been burnt, advised the king to pay her demand, on delivery of the three remaining books. Two persons at first, then ten, afterwards fifteen, were appointed to take charge of these books, hence called *Quindecimviri.* These books were supposed to contain the fate of the republic, and in time of public danger or calamity were consulted by order of the senate. They of course became a very useful engine of state; but were burnt in the Marsic war, A. U. C. 690. Ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls, of whom there were several; the chief of them was the Sibyl of Cumae. From the verses collected in this search, the *Quindecimviri* compiled new books, which, by order of Augustus, were deposited in two gilt cases under the base of Apollo's statue, in his temple on the Palatine hill. For more information relatative to the Sibyls, *vid.* Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, Anthon's edition, 1830.

3. *Tribus Corneliis,* "to three of the Cornelian house." The *gens Cornelia* was among the most illustrious at Rome. It had a patrician and plebeian branch. The *familiae* included under it were the Maluginenses, Scipiones, Sullae, Lentuli, Cinnae, Rufini, &c.

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28 4. *Cinnam.* L. Cornelius Cinna, a Roman of considerable influence and personal bravery. He espoused the party of Marius, and, in common with that monster of cruelty, was guilty of the most horrid excesses. It was Cinna who recalled Marius from his exile in Africa.—After *antea* understand *regnum habuisse.*

5. *Urbis potiri.* The verb *potiri*, which elsewhere governs an ablative, is often, as in the present instance, used with a genitive. This government, however, admits of a very easy explanation, if we consider that *potiri* is in fact equivalent to *potens esse* or *potentem esse.* In Plautus we even find the active of this verb. (*Amph.* 1. 1. 23.) "*Qui fuerim liber, eum nunc potivit pater servitutis*;" i. e. "has put in slavery," "has made partaker of slavery;" thence *potior* is used passively; e. g. "*potitus est hostium*," (*ibid. Capt.* 1. 2. 41.) "he is mastered by the enemy," "is in the enemy's power."

6. *Incenso Capitolio.* The Capitol was thrice destroyed by fire. First, during the troubles occasioned by the contest between Sylla and Marius, A. U. C. 670, after which it was rebuilt by Sylla, and dedicated by Catulus. It is to this burning that the text refers. It was a second time destroyed, A. D. 70, by the soldiers of Vitellius. The emperor Vespasian rebuilt it, and at his death it was burnt a third time. Domitian restored it with greater magnificence than ever.

7. *Haruspices.* The haruspices were those who examined the victims and their entrails after they were sacrificed, and from thence derived omens of futurity. They pretended to divine also from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances attending the sacrifice. Donatus (*in Ter. Phorm.* 4. 4. 28.) derives the name from *haruga*, "a victim," observing, "*nam* haruga *dicitur* hostia, *ab* hara *in qua concluditur et servatur : hara autem est, in qua pecora includuntur.*" Compare Cicero, (3 *in Cat.* 8.) in relation to what is stated in the text. "*Quo quidem tempore, cum aruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.*" The orator adds, that games were in consequence

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celebrated for ten days, and every other formality observed 28
for appeasing the wrath of the gods.

8. *Abdicatus*. Others read *abdicato magistratu*: both forms are in accordance with the idiom of the language, only the former, which is that adopted by Cortius, shows more plainly that his office was taken from Lentulus, not voluntarily resigned by him.

9. *Liberis custodiis*, "in free custody," equivalent to our phrase, of "being held to bail." This was done either when the accused were persons of rank, or when they were many in number, and were separated so as to prevent any communication with one another.

10. *P. Lentulo Spintheri*. This individual was called Spinther from his resembling very closely a certain actor named Spinther. He obtained the consulship A. U. C. 697, and had for his colleague in that office, Q. Metellus Nepos, who bore a very striking resemblance to another actor, Pamphilus. (*Val. Max.* 9. 14. 4. *Plin.* H. N. 7. 12.) P. Lentulus Spinther deserves to be remembered for having exerted his utmost endeavours, when consul, to effect the recall of Cicero from exile. He was an ardent republican, and, after the death of Caesar, followed the arms of Brutus and Cassius.

11. *Aedilis*. The Aediles were of two kinds, Plebeian and Curule. Two plebeian Aediles were first created, A. U. C. 260, in the *Comitia Curiata*, at the same time with the tribunes of the commons, to be, as it were, their assistants, and to determine certain minor causes, which the tribunes committed to them. They were afterwards created, as the other inferior magistrates, at the *Comitia Tributa*. Two Curule Aediles were created from the patricians, A. U. C. 387, to perform certain public games. They were first chosen alternately from the patricians and plebeians, but afterwards promiscuously from both. They wore the *toga praetexta*, had the right of images, and a more honourable place of giving their opinion in the senate. They also used the *sella curulis*, whence their name of Curule Aediles. As a counterbalance for all this, however, the persons of the plebeian Aediles were sacred, like those of the tribunes. The general office of the Aediles

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28 was to take care of the city, (hence their name *a cura aedium,*) to regulate the markets, inspect the weights and measures, &c.

12. *Q. Cornificio.* This is the same individual who stood candidate for the consulship at the same time with Cicero and Catiline, A. U. C. 689. He lost his election. Ernesti (*Index Historicus ad Cic. op.*) makes him to have been the same person with the Cornificius who obtained the government of Africa A. U. C. 708. Weiske and Dahl, however, maintain that the latter was a younger man. They ground their remark on *Cic. ep. ad Fam.* 17 and 23.

13. *C. Caesari.* The famous Julius Caesar, who was at this time Praetor elect. It was excellent policy to entrust some of the conspirators to the care of Caesar and Crassus, who were suspected of being themselves concerned in the plot. By pretending to regard them as good and faithful citizens, the senate drove them to the necessity of assuming that character at least.

14. *Cn. Terentio.* He was Praetor the year following.

15. *Ciceronem ad coelum tollere.* Cicero, on leaving the senate, although it was towards the close of the day, delivered before the assembled people the oration which has come down to us as the third against Catiline. In this he gave an account of the arrest of the Allobroges, and the transactions in the senate. The people then perceived the full extent of the danger from which they had just been rescued by the energy and vigilance of their consul, and gave him the full meed of applause which he so richly deserved.

16. *Detrimento.* Understand *fore sibi.*

17. *Incendium vero crudele,* &c., "but they thought the burning of the city a cruel measure, exceeding all bounds," &c.

18. *Quippe cui omnes copiae,* &c., "since all their property consisted of articles in daily use, and of clothing for their persons."

19. *Qui Catilinae nunciaret,* "to tell Catiline." *Qui* is here used for *ut illi,* and consequently takes the subjunctive mood.

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20. *Ne Lentulus*, &c. Literally, "that Lentulus, Cethegus, and others connected with the conspiracy, being arrested, should not alarm him;" i. e. "not to be alarmed at the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators." 28

1. *Animos reficeret*, "might reanimate the courage." 29

2. *Alii, rem incredibilem rati*, "some, because they thought the thing incredible."

3. *Quia tali tempore*, &c., "because, at such a crisis, a man of so much power seemed proper to be soothed rather than irritated."

4. *Obnoxii*, "under obligations to." Cortius correctly remarks, that *plerique*, in this clause, denote a third class of persons, distinct from those to whom *alii* and *pars* respectively refer. The great wealth of Crassus, and the numerous loans which it enabled him to make, had given him the most extensive private influence of any individual of the day.

5. *Uti referatur*. Understand *ad se*. "That they should be consulted," or "that their opinion be taken."

6. *Vinculis*, "prison." *Vinculum*, in the singular, any bond or tie; in the plural, very frequently a prison, confinement, &c.

7. *Potestatem*. Understand *indicandi*. "Permission to go on with his testimony." The refusal, on the part of the senate, to listen to his farther statements, was a virtual revoking of the pledge of impunity which they had previously granted him.

8. *Mentitus esset*. The pronoun *Qui* is uniformly joined to the subjunctive mood, when the relative clause does not express any sentiment of the author's, but refers it to the person or persons of whom he is speaking. *Mentitus esset* here implies the senate's affirmation, that Tarquinius had told a falsehood, and not the historian's. The whole doctrine of the use of the relative with the subjunctive, will be found clearly and ably developed in *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 1. *et seqq*.

9. *Quo facilius*, &c., "in order that, Crassus being named

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29 as an accomplice, his power might the more easily protect the rest, by his being made to share the danger with them."

10. *Immissum*, "instigated."

11. *More suo*. Plutarch relates, that when Pompey, Caesar, and Cicero refused to speak at the bar, Crassus often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant; and that this promptness of his to assist any unfortunate citizen, gained him great popularity. He farther informs us, that there was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name. (*Vit. Crass*. 3. *ed. Hutten*. vol. 3, p. 405.)

12. *Praedicantem*, "openly affirming."

13. *Impositam*, "had been offered."

14. *Q. Catulus*. Q. Lutatius Catulus, who had been consul with M. Aemilius Lepidus, A. U. C. 676, and was at this time *Princeps senatus*.

15. *C. Piso*. C. Calpurnius Piso, who had been consul A. U. C. 687, and subsequently proconsul in Hither or Cisalpine Gaul, as we learn from Cicero, (*Ep. ad Att*. 1. 1.)

16. *Pretio*, "by the offer of a bribe."

17. *Potuere*. Some editions have *quivere*. The difference between *possum* and *queo* is seldom observed. The latter verb is, generally speaking, the weaker of the two, and denotes mere possibility under existing circumstances.

18. *Nominaretur*, "should be named as an accomplice." Suetonius (*Vit. Caes*. 17.) informs us, that Caesar was named as an accomplice the year after, by Curius in the senate, and by L. Vettius before Novius Nigrus the Quaestor, (or, perhaps, public commissioner, if the true reading be *Quaesitorem*, and not *Quaestorem*, in the text of Suetonius.) Both accusations were dismissed.

19. *Obpugnatus*, &c. "having been prosecuted by him in an action for extortion."

20. *Transpadani*. The term *Transpadanus* is here used with reference to Rome: *cujusdam Transpadani*, "of a certain individual who dwelt beyond the Po," or, "north of the Po."

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21. *Ex petitione pontificatus,* "ever since the time of his application for the high-priesthood." Plutarch, in his life of Caesar, informs us, that when Metellus, the chief pontiff, died, the office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in the city and of the greatest interest in the senate. Caesar, nevertheless, did not shrink from the contest, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed nearly equal; and Catulus, who, on account of his superior dignity, was most uneasy about the event, sent privately to Caesar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, "He would rather borrow still larger sums, to enable him to stand the struggle." (πλείω προσδανεισόμενος ἔφη διαγωνιεῖσθαι.) When the day of election came, Caesar's mother attending him to the door with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff, or an exile." (Ὦ μῆτερ, τήμερον ἢ ἀρχιερέα τὸν υἱὸν, ἢ φυγάδα ὄψει.) There never was any thing, adds Plutarch, more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it to Caesar. (*vit. Caes.* 7. *ed. Hutten.* vol. 4, p. 365.) 29

22. *Adolescentulo,* "a mere youth when compared with himself." As Caesar was at this time 37 years of age, it is evident that the term *adolescentulus* is merely applied to him comparatively, in reference to the advanced age of Catulus.

23. *Opportuna,* "a favourable one."

24. *Publice maxumis muneribus,* "by the very splendid shows which he publicly exhibited." As Aedile, Caesar not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diversions also of the theatre, in the processions and public entertainments, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. Suetonius even states that the number of gladiators just mentioned was less than he had originally intended, owing to the envy and opposition of his enemies. Caesar is said by Plutarch to have been thirteen hundred talents in debt before he obtained any public employment. This would amount in sterling money to £251,875. When he set out for Spain, after his Praetorship, he is reported to

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29 have said that he was one hundred million of sesterces (£807 291 : 13 : 4.) worse than nothing. (ὅτι δέοιτο δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων. *Appian*, B. C. 2. 8. where we must understand δραχμῶν, i. e. *denariorum*, and render the amount into Latin by *Millies H. S.* and not with Candidus, whom Adam follows, by *Bis Millies et quingenties.* Compare *Gronov. de Sestertiis*, &c., *lib.* 3, *cap.* 16, *p.* 245. *Schweighaeuser ad Appian. l. c.*) When Caesar first entered Rome, in the beginning of the civil war, he took out of the treasury, according to Pliny, (H. N. 33. 3.) £1,095,979, and brought into it, at the end of the civil war, above £4,843,750. ("*amplius sexies millies.*" *Vell. Pat.* 2. 56.) He is said to have purchased the friendship of Curio, at the beginning of the civil war, by a bribe of £484, 373, and that of the consul, L. Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus, A. U. C. 704, by about £279,500.

30 1. *Ementiundo,* "by uttering open falsehoods."

2. *Concordiae.* Understand *aedem.* Compare Terence, (*Adelph.* 4. 2. 43.) "*Ubi ad Dianae veneris.*"

3. *Animi nobilitate,* "by a generous impulse," or "by patriotic feelings." Some editions have *animi mobilitate,* but this does not harmonize with what immediately follows: "*quo studium suum,*" &c.

4. *Caesari.* Plutarch gives a more detailed account of this same affair; "As Caesar was going out of the Senate," observes this biographer, "several of the young men who guarded Cicero's person, ran up to the former with their drawn swords, but Curio (we are told) covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought such an assassination unlawful and unjust. If this was true, continues Plutarch, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was subsequently blamed, however, for not having availed himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for having been influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Caesar; for, a few days afterwards, when Caesar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself from the suspicions entertained of

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him, his defence was received with indignation and loud re- 30
proaches; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Caesar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed in safety." (*Vit. Caes.* 8. *ed. Hutten.* vol. 4, p. 367.) Suetonius (*Vit. Caes.* 14.) informs us, that some of the knights threatened Caesar as he sat in the senate-house. It is probable that he and Sallust allude to different meetings.

5. *Minitarentur.* The frequentative appears to be used in this passage, not so much for the sake of a better sound, as in order to express the idea of a frequent brandishing of the sword, though it cannot be well conveyed in an English translation.

6. *Aguntur,* "are being done."

7. *Liberti.* The Romans used the term *libertus* when they spoke of the master; as, *libertus Lentuli;* but *libertinus,* in relation to free-born citizens, as, *libertinus homo,* i. e. non *ingenuus.*

8. *Vicis,* "the streets." *Vicus,* properly speaking, refers to the appearance presented by the buildings in a street; a row of houses resembling, as it were, a single and extensive edifice. (οἶκος, and, with the digamma, Fοῖκος, whence *vicus.*) The term is used here, however, in the sense of *via.*

9. *Eripiendum.* Understand *e custodia.* Cicero (4 *in Cat.* 8.) states, that none were found who would engage in such an an attempt. Appian, however, informs us, that on the nones of December, while the senate were deliberating about the punishment of the conspirators, the slaves and freed-men of Lentulus and Cethegus, and a large body of working people, assailed the habitations of the praetors in the rear, and endeavoured to rescue the prisoners. Cicero, upon learning this, immediately left the senate, and planted guards in suitable quarters of the city, after which he returned and expedited the debate. (*Appian, B. C.* 2. 5.)

10. *Partim.* Equivalent to *pars* or *alii.* It is properly the old accusative of *pars,* and is used adverbially in those passages where it retains its accusative force. Thus, "*Quum ami-*

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30 *ci partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint.*" (*Cic. ad Q. fratrem*, 3.) where it has the meaning of "partly."

11. *Duces multitudinum*, "the leaders of the mob." The want of trades and manufactures, which the Romans considered as employments unworthy of freemen, left the great body of the inhabitants of Rome in a state of poverty and idleness, and ready for any desperate enterprise, to which they might be stimulated by artful demagogues.

12. *Familiam*. *Familia* here denotes the "slaves" belonging to a family. This is the original signification of the word. It comes from *famulus*, "a servant," and this last from the old Oscan term *famul*, of the same import.

13. *Grege facto*. Understand *ut*. In some editions it is expressed.

14. *Refert*, &c. Literally, "Refers it to them, what it may please them be done to those," &c.; i. e. "Consults their pleasure with respect to those," &c.

15. *Sed eos, paullo ante*, &c., "Now a crowded house had, a few days previous, declared them to have acted as enemies to their country." This form of words, (*contra rempublicam fecisse*,) was always used against those who had been guilty of any treasonable or seditious conduct, and in cases where capital punishment most commonly ensued. Compare Cicero, *pro Milone*, 5 *et* 6.

16. *Tum D. Junius Silanus*, &c. *Tum* refers to the present meeting of the senate, not to the previous one.—Decimus Junius Silanus had, as his colleague in the consulship, during the following year, L. Licinius Murena. He married Cato's half-sister, Servilia. *vid.* Plutarch, *Vit. Cat. min.* c. 21.

17. *Consul designatus*, "consul elect." After A. U. C. 598, the consuls were chosen about the end of July or the beginning of August, and entered on their office on the first day of January. During the interval they were styled *Consules designati*, and were always asked their opinions first in the senate. This interval was made so long, that they might have time to become acquainted with what pertained to their office; and that enquiry might be made whether they had gained their election by bribery.

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18. ***Pedibus in sententiam***, &c., "that he would embrace the opinion expressed by Tiberius Nero." The history of this whole affair appears to have been as follows: Silanus gave his opinion at first in favour of the severest punishment, (τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτῃ κολάσει μετιέναι. *Appian*, *B. C.* 2. 5.) Many senators followed in the debate, and advocated the same course, (πολλοὶ συνετίθεντο. *Appian*, *ubi supra*.) When it came, however, to the turn of Tiberius Claudius Nero (grandfather of the future emperor) to deliver his sentiments, he recommended that the conspirators should be detained in custody until Catiline was overcome, and that then the whole affair should be carefully investigated. Caesar, who was at this time Praetor elect, spoke after Nero, and declared himself against capital punishment. The greater part of the senate, after he had finished, came over to his opinion, whereupon Cicero delivered his fourth Catilinarian oration, in which he took a view of the whole debate, and recommended prompt and vigorous measures. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful, and a large majority of the senators, and among them Cicero's own brother, Quintus, were disposed to side with Caesar, probably from the fear lest severer measures might prove injurious afterwards to Cicero himself. At last, Lutatius Catulus, Caesar's inveterate foe, and Cato, who was then Tribune of the commons elect, interposed their efforts. The eloquence of the latter proved triumphant, and the course he recommended was almost unanimously adopted. (The authorities to be consulted on this subject are as follows: *Plutarch*, *Vit. Cic.* c. 20 *et* 21. *id. Vit. Caes.* c. 7 *et* 8. *id. Vit. Cat. min.* c. 22. *Sueton. Caes.* 14. *Appian*, *B. C.* 2. 5. seqq.) As regards the phrase, *pedibus in sententiam ire*, which is given in the text, we may remark, that a decree of the senate was commonly made by a separation of the senators to different parts of the house. He who presided said, "Let those who are of such an opinion pass over to that side," pointing to a certain quarter, "and those who think differently, to this." Hence *ire pedibus in sententiam alicujus* means, "to agree to any one's opinion," since he who had first proposed the opinion, or who had been 30

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30 the principal speaker in favour of it, passed over first, and the rest followed.

19. *Sed Caesar*. The speech which Sallust here assigns to Caesar, and which, from the term *hujuscemodi*, as used by the historian, must be regarded as Caesar's merely in its general and leading features, is a perfect masterpiece of its kind: cool, argumentative, specious, and breathing apparently a spirit of patriotism, which was calculated to carry with it the opinions and feelings of a large majority of his hearers. It required all the bold and fervid eloquence of Cato to counteract its pernicious tendency.

20. *Omnis homines*, &c. The beginning of this speech seems to have been imitated from Demosthenes (περὶ τῶν ἐν Χεῤῥονήσῳ πραγμάτων. ed. Reiske. vol. 1, p. 58.) Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας ἐν ὑμῖν μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα, μήτε πρὸς χάριν.

21. *Ab odio, amicitia*, &c. This construction of *vacuus* with the preposition, is not unusual in the best writers, such as Cicero, Tacitus, &c. Compare, in the 14th chapter of this same narrative, *a culpa vacuus*.

31 1. *Lubidini simul et usui paruit*, "has obeyed at the same time the dictates of passion and of interest."

2. *Ubi intenderis ingenium*, &c. Understand *in verum* after *ingenium*. "When you apply the mind to the discovery of truth, unbiassed by the influence of any of these feelings, it succeeds in the search: if passion holds possession, *it* rules, and reason becomes useless."

3. *Atque populi*. Some editions have *Aut qui populi*.

4. *Contra lubidinem animi*, "in opposition to the dictates of their own breasts."

5. *Bello Macedonico*. Brought to a conclusion by Paulus Aemilius, after the famous battle of Pydna, A. U. C. 586. "*Qui finis fuit*," observes Livy, (45. 9.) "*inclyti per Europae plerumque, atque Asiam omnem, regni*." Perses was led by the conqueror in triumph at Rome. There are three forms of this last proper name, *Perses-is*, abl. *Perse*: *Perseus-i*, abl. *Perseo*: and *Perses-i*, abl. *Persa*. Compare Aulus Gellius, 7. 3.

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6. ***Rhodiorum civitas.*** Rhodes, an island in the Mediterranean, consecrated to the sun, and lying over against the southern coast of Caria. In this island was the famous colossus, or statue of Apollo. Rhodes was famous also as a maritime state, and for its code of commercial laws. The Rhodians were auxiliaries to the Romans in the war against Antiochus, king of Syria, and at the close of the contest received a large part of Lycia and Caria as a reward. Compare Livy, 37. 55. 31

7. *Opibus*, "by the powerful aid." *vid.* the latter part of the preceding note.——*infida atque adversa.* There were no actual hostilities between the Rhodians and Romans, but the former, to use the language of Velleius Paterculus, (1. 9.) "*fidelissimi antea Romanis, tum dubia fide speculati fortunam, proniores regis partibus fuisse visi sunt.*"

8. *Impunitos dimisere*, "allowed them to escape unpunished." The Romans did not indeed make war upon them, which, according to the spirit of the passage, would have been the punishment they deserved, but merely took from them the portions of Lycia and Caria which they had previously bestowed. Aulus Gellius (7. 3.) supplies us with some fragments of a very beautiful oration which Cato the elder delivered in their behalf.

9. *Per inducias*, "during the season of truce."

10. *Per occasionem*, "when opportunity offered."——*talia fecere*, "retaliated;" i. e. *talia fecere qualia illi fecerant.*

11. *In illis*, "in their case."

12. *Ne plus valeat apud vos*, &c., "in order that the crime of Publius Lentulus and the rest, may not have more weight with you, than a regard for your own dignity, and that you may not listen more to the dictates of resentment than to what your own character demands."

13. *Novum consilium*, "The novel measure which has been proposed," viz. of putting citizens to death in violation of the laws. Cicero, however, (4 *in Cat.* 4.) says that Silanus had reminded the senate "hoc genus poenae *saepe in improbos cives* in republica esse usurpatum."

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31 14. *Omnium ingenia exsuperat,* "transcends the imaginations of all."

15. *Iis.* Understand *poenis*; "those forms of punishment."

16. *Composite atque magnifice,* "in studied and glowing language."

17. *Casum reipublicae,* "the unhappy condition of the state." Some editions have *caussam,* but this is an inferior reading.

18. *Quo illa oratio pertinuit,* &c., "what was the object of that strain of oratory? was it to embitter you against the conspiracy? Him, whom so great and so atrocious a crime has not moved, a mere speech no doubt will inflame!"—*Scilicet* is here used ironically.

32 1. *Aliis alia licentia,* "all men have not the same freedom of action." Literally, "there is one kind of freedom in action allowed to one class of men, another to a different class."

2. *Qui demissi in obscuro,* &c. Understand *loco;* "who pass their lives sunk in obscurity."

3. *Ita in maxuma fortuna,* &c., "thus, in the highest elevation there is the least freedom of action. In such a situation, it becomes us neither to show favour nor hatred, but, least of all, resentment; what in others is called hastiness of of temper, is, in those invested with power, styled haughtiness and cruelty."

4. *Aestumo.* In other editions *existimo.*

6. *Postrema,* "the last of an affair;" "the things last done:" as, in the present instance, the punishment of the conspirators."

6. *Fortem atque strenuum,* "a man of firmness and energy."

7. *Studio reipublicae,* "through love of country."

8. *Eos mores,* &c., "such I know to be the principles, such the moderation of the man."

9. *Aliena a republica nostra,* "uncongenial with the principles of our government."

10. *Injuria,* 'the nature of the crime which has been committed."

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11. *Praesenti diligentia.* Used for *praesentia et diligentia.* 32
"by the promptitude and diligence." Some manuscripts have *praesertim diligentia.*

12. *Tanta praesidia.* These words appear to contain a secret censure of Cicero, as if it were at all necessary to have such powerful guards under arms in the very heart of the city.

13. *Ultra,* "after this;" i. e. beyond the grave. The doctrine advocated by Caesar in the text, and which corresponded so intimately with his life and actions, was one unhappily but too prevalent in the ancient world. Cicero makes mention of this opinion of Caesar's with regard to the soul, in his fourth oration against Catiline; and Cato also alludes to it in the following speech.

14. *Lex Porcia.* The Porcian Law, proposed by P. Porcius Laeca, a tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 454, ordained that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen, but that, in capital cases, the alternative of exile should be granted.

1. *Qui convenit,* "how is it consistent in you to observe that 33
law," &c. *Qui* is here the old form of the ablative for *quo.*

2. *At enim quis reprehendet,* &c. The particles *At enim* are equivalent here to ἀλλα γαρ. "*But,* some one may say, what need is there of all this discussion, *for* who will blame," &c.

3. *Tempus, dies,* &c. We have here the answer to the preceding question. At some future "*time,*" argues Caesar, we may see cause to condemn what we are now doing, when critical "*conjunctures*" arise through the "*caprice*" of "*fortune.*"——*cujus lubido,* &c., "whose caprice sways the destinies of nations."

4. *In alios.* Literally, "against others." The true meaning of the whole passage, however, appears to be as follows: "But do you, Concript Fathers, reflect, what influence upon others that which you are now determining may have:" i. e. "what effect upon others the example you are now setting may produce."

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33 5. ***Bonis.*** Understand *exemplis*. Some editions insert *initiis* after *bonis*.

6. *Ab dignis et idoneis*, &c., "from proper and fit subjects of punishment." Understand *poena* after *dignis*. As regards the use of *idoneus* in this passage, compare Cicero, (*pro Cluentio*, 47.) "*Per hominum idoneorum ignominiam*:" and Terence, (*Andr.* 4. 4.) "*Adeone vobis videmur esse idonei in quibus sic illudatis?*" In each of these passages it is taken, to adopt the language of grammarians, "*in malam partem.*"

7. *Devictis Atheniensibus.* Alluding to the termination of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians were compelled to demolish the fortifications of their city, together with the long walls, and submit to the rule of the thirty tyrants. Compare with Caesar's statement the words of Xenophon, Hist. Graec. 2. 3. 12. ed. Schneid. Ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ᾔδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, κ. τ. λ.

8. *Ea.* Understand *negotia.* Some editions have *eo.*

9. *Lubidine*, "at their pleasure." Xenophon says that the thirty tyrants put to death, in the space of eight months, as many as had been slain during ten years of the Peloponnesian war.

10. *Damasippum.* Damasippus was praetor during the consulship of Papirius Carbo and the younger Marius, A. U. C. 671. As a follower of the Marian party, he indulged in many cruel excesses against the opposite faction, and also against such as were suspected by him of favouring it. Compare Velleius Paterculus, 2. 26. "*Damasippus Domitium, Scaevolam etiam pontificem maximum et divini humanique juris auctorem celeberrimum, et C. Carbonem, praetorium, consulis fratrem, et Antistium, aedilitium, velut faventes Sullae partibus in curia Hostilia trucidavit.*" Consult also Livy, *Epit.* 86.

11. *Atque ego haec non in Marco Tullio*, &c., "I do not, it is true, apprehend such things as these in Marcus Tullius, nor in the present complexion of the times; but, in a great state, there are many and various characters. At some other time, under some other consul, to whose hands, likewise, an army may have been entrusted, some false suggestion may be credit-

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ed for truth; and when, by virtue of the precedent you are now establishing, that consul shall have drawn the sword of punishment, who shall set limits to his power, or who restrain him in its exercise?" 33

1. *Arma atque tela*, "arms defensive and offensive:" ὅπλα καὶ παλτά. 34

2. *Samnitibus*. The Samnites were a people of Italy, who inhabited the country between Apulia, Latium, Campania, the territory of the Marsi, and Lucania. They distinguished themselves by their implacable hatred against the Romans, in the first ages of the republic, till they were at last almost totally extirpated, after a war of 70 years. They were of Sabine origin.

3. *Insignia*. The *Trabea*, a white robe adorned with purple; the ivory sceptre or staff; the *sella curulis;* the twelve lictors; &c.

4. *Tuscis*. The country of the Tusci, (Etruria,) answers in some measure to the modern Tuscany. The origin of this remarkable people is lost in obscurity. It is probable that a body of Pelasgi, leaving the coast of Lydia in Asia Minor, settled in this part of Italy; and, by uniting in some degree, though not very closely, with the inhabitants whom they found there, laid the foundation of the Etrurian confederacy.

5. *Imitari quam invidere*, &c., "they preferred to imitate rather than to envy what was good in the institutions of other nations." Understand *institutis* after *bonis*. One of Cortius's manuscripts has *imitari* bonos, *quam invidere bonis*, &c., a reading of little value.

6. *Animadvertebant in civis*. The verb *animadvertere* sometimes, as in the present instance, denotes "to punish" by authority, and then refers to the vigilance of the magistrate in marking offences committed. In this case there is often an application of the preposition *in* before the name or designation of the culprits, intimating more strongly the steady attention directed towards the conduct found to be reprehensible. *Hill's Synonyms*, p. 89, 4to ed.

7. *Hanc ego caussam*, &c. The train of reasoning which is

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34 here ascribed by the historian to Caesar, would appear to be as follows: Our forefathers, though they wanted neither sagacity in devising plans for their own advantage, nor boldness in carrying those plans into operation, yet never disdained to imitate, in the institutions of other nations, what they conceived to be of utility to themselves. Among other things, they borrowed the custom of inflicting capital punishment on condemned citizens. As, however, they had adopted this from the Greeks at a period when it promised to be productive of salutary effects, so they changed it for a different course when positive evil was found to result. This was their latest alteration, and as such, we, their descendants, should be guided in this instance by their wisdom, and pursue without any deviation the path they have marked out for us.

8. *Profecti virtus*, &c., "Surely there was greater energy and wisdom in those, who reared from trifling resources so mighty an empire," &c.

9. *Bene parta*, "happily obtained from them;" i. e. "obtained, in an auspicious hour, from our fathers."

10. *Censeo*. This was the usual and formal word applied to the expression of his opinion on the part of a senator. *Sed ita censeo* must therefore be rendered, "But my opinion is this."

11. *Publicandas eorum pecunias*, "that their property be confiscated."

12. *Per municipia*, "throughout the free towns."

13. *Neu quis*, &c., "and that no one, for the time to come, consult the senate in relation to their case, or treat, respecting them, with the people."

14. *Ceteri verbo*, &c., "the rest gave merely a verbal assent, one to one of the speakers, another to another, in support of different opinions."——*alii*, i. e. *Silano*, *Neroni*, *Caesari*.—— When the senators gave merely a verbal assent to the opinion of any speaker, they retained their seats and exclaimed *assentior*, adding the name of the individual with whom they agreed; as, *assentior Silano*; *assentior Neroni*; *assentior Caesari*.

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15. *M. Porcius Cato.* Surnamed in history *Uticensis*, from his death at Utica, where he destroyed himself after the battle of Thapsus. He was great grandson of Cato the Censor. 34

16. *Longe mihi alia*, &c., "When I reflect, Conscript Fathers, on the dangerous posture of our present affairs, my opinion is far different from what it is when I merely revolve in mind the sentiments of some of the speakers of this day." After *et* understand *alia*. The exordium of this speech is an evident imitation of the beginning of the third Olynthiac. Οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω, καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους, ("*Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum*, &c.") τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον. ("*Res autem monet, cavere ab illis magis*, &c.") *Demosth. Olynth.* 3. *init.*

17. *Illi mihi disseruisse videntur*, &c., "They seem to me to have been arguing about the *kind* of punishment to be inflicted upon those, who" &c.

18. *Aris atque focis suis*, "their religion and their homes." *Ara* refers here to the altar in the middle of the house, *(Impluvium,)* where the Penates were worshipped, and *focus* denotes the hearth in the hall, *(atrium,)* around which were ranged the little images of the Lares. In such expressions as the present, care must be taken not to confound *arae* with the altars in public temples. Compare, on this head, the remark of Ernesti, *(Clav. Cic. s. v. Ara.)* "*Arae et foci quum junguntur, cave putes, aras de templis, focos de aedibus privatis intelligi, ut vulgaris opinio fert, in illo proverbio, pro aris et focis pugnare; quem errorem etiam erravit cl. Dukerus ad Flor.* 3. 13. *quum eum locus ille docere meliora posset, quem frustra tentat. Sed utrumque dicitur de privatis aedibus in quibus ara erat Deorum. Penatium patriorum, in impluvio, focus autem in atrio, isque Larium erat.* Dom. 40. Unius cujusque vestrum, sedes, *aras*, focos, &c. ibid. 41. hic *arae*, hic foci, hic dii penates." The "vulgaris opinio," however, is adopted by Cortius.

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34 19, *Quam quid in illis*, &c. Cato's argument is this. The public safety demands that we rid ourselves of them at once, (*cavere ab illis,*) and not waste valuable time in deliberating on the kind of punishment which their case may seem to demand. We should hold no terms with these guilty wretches: they have placed themselves, by their misdeeds, without the pale of the law, and the only thing to be done is to deprive them forever of the means of injuring the state.

35 1. *Celera*. Understand *maleficia*, which is expressed in some editions.

2. *Persequare*, "you may punish." Caesar, by the artful oration which the historian has assigned to him, had endeavoured to draw off the attention of the senate from the true point in the debate. Cato here brings back the question in its strongest and plainest colours.

3. *Judicia*, "the aid of public justice."

4. *Tabulas*. Understand *pictas*. "your paintings."

5. *Amplexamini*. From *amplexor*. "to be fondly attached to any thing," &c.

6. *Capessite rempublicam*, "take upon you the defence of your country."

7. *Non agitur de vectigalibus*, &c., "The question is not now respecting the revenues of our empire, nor of wrongs inflicted on our allies: our freedom, our very existence is at stake."

8. *In hoc ordine*, "in this house." *Facere verba*, "to express one's sentiments," "to speak:" *habere verba*, "to converse with one:" *dare verba*, "to impose upon one."

9. *Qui mihi atque animo meo*, &c. Cortius considers *mihi atque animo meo* equivalent simply to *meo animo*. The meaning of the clause will then be:—"I, who never extended to my own self indulgence for any fault, was not easily induced to pardon the misdeeds of others, for the sake of gratifying their ruling propensities." *Condonabam*, strictly speaking, refers to the custom or habit of pardoning, as expressed by the imperfect tense. Plutarch's biography of Cato will furnish an ample commentary on the words of the text. The stern and unbending character of this remarkable man, while it renders

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him a conspicuous object amid the general corruption of the age, must necessarily have exposed him to the hatred and the virulence of his contemporaries.

10. *Opulentia negligentiam tolerabat,* "its resources saved it from the consequences of your neglect."

11. *Bonis an malis moribus vivamus,* "whether we be living under the influence of good or evil morals."

12. *Sed, cujus haec cunque,* &c., "but whether these things, of what kind soever they may be, are to remain our own, or, together with ourselves, are to become the prey of our enemies."

13. *Hic mihi quisquam,* &c., "Does any one here make mention unto me of clemency and compassion?" i. e. does any one tell me here, that the course to be pursued by us should be a mild and a merciful one?

14. *Vera rerum vocabula,* "the true names for things." Compare Thucydides, 3, 82. Τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων . . . . ἀντήλλαξαν . . . . τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος, ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη.

15. *Eo respublica in extremo sita,* "in so critical a situation has the republic been placed."

16. *In furibus aerarii,* "in the case of the pilferers of our treasury." *In furibus* is the reading of all the manuscripts.

17. *Ne illis sanguinem,* &c., "let them only not lavish upon these men, our blood." *Ne* is here put for *ne modo.*

18. *Bene et composite,* "in fair and studied language." Cato here refutes Caesar's remarks, on the eternal sleep of the grave, rather by oratorical irony than philosophic disputation. The latter would have been altogether out of place in so bold and animated an harangue. We are not to suppose, however, that, in thus censuring the opinion of Caesar, Cato assented to the fictions which marked the poetical accounts of Elysium and Tartarus, but merely that he entertained a belief in the existence of a future state of rewards and punishments. For some excellent remarks on the ideas entertained by the Greeks of a future state, consult Constant's admirable work, "*De la Religion,*" vol, 3 p. 377. seqq.

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35 19. *Diverso itinere*, &c., "that the wicked, having pursued a different route from the good," &c.

20. *Habere*, "inhabit." Used in the sense of *habitare*. Compare Cicero, *Tusc.* 1. 30.

36 1. *Videlicet timens*, "fearing, to be sure." Strong irony is expressed by both of these terms, but especially by the latter, since Caesar was more than suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy.

2. *Multitudine conducta*, "by a hired mob." With *conducta* understand *pretio* or *mercede;* and compare note 11, page 30.

3. *Quare vanum equidem*, &c., "Wherefore this advice is idle indeed, if he actually apprehends danger from them: while, on the other hand, if, amid the great alarm which pervades all classes, he alone feels none, on that very account it concerns me to fear the more for myself, and you for yourselves." The expression *magis refert, mihi* &c. is equivalent to *magis refert me mihi, vosque vobis timere.* Cato here alludes in pointed terms to Caesar's supposed connection with the conspiracy.

4. *Quanto vos attentius ea agetis*, "the more vigorously ye shall act on the present occasion."

5. *Aderunt*, "will be present at your gates."

6. *Armis*. Understand *tantum* or *modo*. "By martial prowess alone."

7. *Quippe sociorum*, &c. Compare Demosthenes, *Philipp.* 3. 4. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τριήρεις γε, καὶ σωμάτων πλῆθος, καὶ χρημάτων πρόσοδοι, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τ' ἄλλα οἷς ἄν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπαντα καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῷ.

8. *Sed alia fuere*, &c. Compare Demosth. l. c.. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν.

9. *Quae nobis nulla sunt*, "which have no existence for us."

10. *Animus in consulendo liber*, &c., "a mind unfettered in deliberation: neither swayed by a consciousness of guilt, nor biassed by any ruling propensity."

11. *Publice egestatem*, &c., "as a people, poverty; in pri-

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vate, opulence." The resources of the state are plundered by the powerful, (*fures aerarii,*) who lavish in private their ill-gotten wealth. 36

12. *Virtutis praemia*, "the recompenses of merit."

13. *Vacuam rempublicam*, "the unprotected republic." After *vacuam* understand *defensoribus*, or else *consilio et defensione* as Dahl supplies the ellipsis.

14. *Supra caput est.* A figurative expression, analogous to the English phrases, "is at our very doors," or, "has the sword at our throats."

15. *Adprehensis hostibus.* The dative, not the ablative. Compare Cicero, *Acad.* 4. 115. "*Diodoro quid faciam Stoico?*" and *Pro Caecin.* 30. "*Quid huic tu homini facias?*" The common editions of Sallust have *deprehensis*, but the reading we have given is more significant. *Deprehendere* is to come upon one unawares, but *apprehendere* is to seize, to lay hands upon.

16. *Misereamini censeo.* Uttered ironically. "My advice is that you take pity on them."

1. *Ne, ista vobis*, &c., "Yes, that clemency and compassion, should they take up arms, will change into misery for you." *Ne* is an Archaism for *nae*, from the Greek ναί. *Ista* denotes strong contempt. With *vertet* understand *se*. 37

2. *Scilicet res aspera est*, &c., "The crisis is undoubtedly a dangerous one, but you fear it not: nay, indeed, you do fear it very greatly, but," &c. After *immo vero maxume*, understand *eam timetis*. The idea intended to be conveyed is this: You will acknowledge, very probably, that the present posture of our affairs is a dangerous one, but you will assert, at the same time, that it fills you with no alarm. Your assertion is a false one; for the condition of the state does inspire you with apprehensions, and those, too, of the strongest kind, but you are too spiritless, too slothful, to act the part that becomes you.

3. *Suppliciis muliebribus*, "womanish supplications."

4. *Prospera.* Some editions have *prospere*, which is inferior in point of elegance. *Prospera* is used adverbially here by a Hellenism.

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37 5. *Cedunt*, "eventuate."

6. *Bello Gallico*. This is an historical error on the part of Sallust. The occurrence mentioned in the text took place in a war with the Latins. Compare Florus, 1. 14. and Livy, 8. 7.

7. *Poenas dedit*. "Atoned with his life for his intemperate valour."

8. *Vos de crudelissimis*, &c. An instance of the argument, *a fortiori*. The premises are *Apud majores nostros*, &c. If a father put to death his own son for merely disobeying a military order, though that very act of disobedience enabled the latter to destroy one of the enemies of his country, should their county hesitate to inflict the most signal punishment upon those, who, with a cruel and parricidal spirit, have attempted to plunge the steel into her own bosom ?

9. *Videlicet vita cetera*, &c. "No doubt the rest of their lives stands in direct opposition to this crime. Well then, spare the rank of Lentulus," &c. Strong irony.

10. *Nisi iterum*, &c., "unless this be the second time that he has made war upon his country." The irony of *adolescentiae* is extremely severe. Some commentators suppose that the allusion in the text is to his having taken part with Marius in the contest between him and Sylla. It is more probable, however, that the orator is made to refer to the conspiracy of Piso, mentioned in chap. 18 of this work.

11. *Si quidquam umquam pensi*, &c. "If they had ever exercised the least reflection;" i. e. if they had not always been rash and inconsiderate in their actions. The irony is still continued: It was not from any hostile intent that they harboured these designs against their country. Oh! no; but from mere want of reflection. Their conduct has always been marked by inconsiderateness and haste.

12. *Faucibus urget*, "is ready to spring upon us as his prey." A metaphor taken from a wild beast about to dart upon its victim.

13. *Neque parari*, &c. Cato here hints that some of the senators were implicated, and betrayed the deliberations of the senate to the conspirators.

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1. *Manifestis*, "palpably guilty." 38

2. *Virtutem animi*, "his firmness of soul."

3. *Sicuti ille censuerat*. The decree of the senate is said to have been made in accordance with the opinion of Cato, not because he was the only one who spoke in favour of capital punishment, but because he advocated that measure with the most ability and zeal. Thus Cicero (*Ep. ad Att.* 12. 21.) remarks, "*Cur ergo in sententiam Catonis? Quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehenderat.*"

4. *Sed mihi multa legenti*, &c. On the score of historical fidelity, Sallust is highly censurable for the silence which he preserves respecting the public honours that were paid to Cicero on this occasion. "It is in the conclusion of the business," observes Mr. Dunlop, "that the historian withholds from Cicero his due share of applause, and contrives to eclipse him by always interposing the character of Cato, though it could not be unknown to any witness of those transactions that Cato himself, and other senators, publicly hailed the consul as the Father of his country; and that a thanksgiving to the gods was decreed in his name, for having preserved the city from conflagration and the citizens from massacre. This omission, which may have originated partly in enmity, and partly in disgust at the ill-disguised vanity of the consul, has in all times been regarded as the chief defect, and even stain, in the history of the Catilinarian conspiracy." *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 2, p. 154, *Lond. ed.*

5. *Quae res maxime*, &c. "What circumstance in particular had supported the weight of such important concerns."

6. *Agitanti*, "reflecting."

7. *Veluti effoeta parente*, "the parent being, as it were, exhausted." Cortius reads *effoeta parentum*, and considers it equivalent to *effoeta parens inter parentes*, "a parent whose strength has departed." We have followed the Bipont text, with which that of Burnouf agrees.

8. *Ingenti virtute*, "of distinguished merit."

9. *Silentio praeterire*, &c.; i. e. *Consilium non fuit illos silentio praeterire; ita ut non utriusque*, &c.

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38 10. *Genus*, "birth." M. Porcius Cato, called, after his death, Uticensis, from the city of Utica, near Carthage, where he ended his existence, was the great grandson of M. Porcius Cato, the censor. The Porcian *gens* was plebeian; the Julian, patrician; illustrious achievements, however, and public honours, had raised the former to a full equality with the latter.

11. *Aetas*. At the time of this conspiracy, Cato was 33 years of age, Caesar about 37.

12. *Gloria*. understand *par*.

13. *Alia alii*, "one kind of glory to the one, another to the other." The student will observe the use of *alia alii* in place of *altera alteri*, which last would be too limited in signification for the spirit of the passage. Compare Livy, 1. 21 "*Ita duo deinceps reges, alius* alia via, *ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt.*"

14. *Huic severitas*, "to the latter the rigid practice of virtue had imparted additional dignity."

15. *Ignoscendo*, "by forgiving." *Ignosco* properly means to take no notice of a fault, (*non nosse.*) Thus Cicero, (*Ep. ad Brut.* 15. *a med.*) "*Sed sceleris poenam praetermittere (id enim est quod vocatur ignoscere) in hoc bello peniciosum puto.*"

16. *Nihil largiundo*, "by bestowing no favours." Dureau de Lamalle renders it "*en refusant;*" and Beauzée, "*en ne se relachant sur rien.*"

39 1. *Illius facilitas, hujus constantia* &c. "The yielding temper of the former, the firmness of the latter, were subjects of continual praise."

2. *In animum induxerat*, "had formed the resolve."

3. *At Catoni studium modestiae*, &c. "But Cato's only study was moderation, honour, but most of all, the rigid practice of virtue."

4. *Factione*, "in party-spirit."

5. *Abstinentia*, "in purity of heart."

6. *Esse quam videri*, &c. The idea here expressed, appears to be borrowed from Aeschylus, (*Sept. contra Theb.* 589. ed. Blomf.) Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει. Compare Choricius, ap. Villoison, (*Anecd. Graec.* vol. 2, p. 22,) ἰδεῖ

λετο γὰρ οὐ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶναι χρηστός. "The parallel drawn between Cato and Caesar," observes Mr. Dunlop, "is one of the most celebrated passages in the history of the conspiracy. Of both these famed opponents we are presented with favourable likenesses. Their defects are thrown into shade: and the bright qualities of each different species by which they were distinguished, are contrasted for the purpose of showing the various qualities by which men arrive at eminence." *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 1, p. 160. *Lond. ed.* Steele has given an imitation of this passage of Sallust, in the *Christian Hero*, p. 4. Compare *Velleius Paterculus*, 2. 35. 39

7. *Optumum factum*, "the most advisable course."

8. *Triumviros*, Understand *capitales*. These were magistrates who had charge of the prison, and of the execution of condemned criminals. They judged also concerning slaves, and persons of the lowest rank. They were likewise called *Tresviri* or *Treviri*. From Valerius Maximus, (5. 4. 7.) it appears that they acted commonly by deputies.

9. *Locus—quod*, &c. The relative here agrees in gender with the following noun. Some grammarians term this the Greek construction. It is the usual practice of Cicero; but other authors give the relative the gender of the preceding noun: Cicero himself adopts this latter custom when the word explained is a foreign one: as, "*cohibere motus animi, quos Graeci πάθη vocant:*" still, however, he has also the following: "*consensus quam συμπάθειαν Graeci vocant.*" *Zumpt. L. G.* p. 238. *Kenrick's transl.*

10. *Tullianum.* The prison at Rome was originally built by Ancus Martius, and afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius; whence that part of it which was under ground, and built by him, received the name of Tullianum. Thus Varro (L. L. 4.) observes, "*In hoc, pars quae sub terra Tullianum, ideo quod additum a Tullio rege.*" The full expression is *Tullianum robur*, from its walls having been originally of oak; but in the days of Sallust they were of stone. This dungeon now serves as a subterranean chapel to a small church built on the spot, called *San Pietro in carcere*, in commemoration of St. Peter, who is supposed to have been confined there. Its only entrance,

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39 when a dungeon, was through a hole in the arched roof; now, however, there is a door in the side-wall. "Notwithstanding the change," observes Eustace, "it has still a most appalling appearance." *Eustace Class. Tour*, vol. 1, p. 365 note. *Lond. ed.*

11. *Escenderis.* An archaism for *ascenderis.* Some editions have *descenderis*, but erroneously; for *escenderis* refers to the elevation on which the prison stood. Compare *Descrizzione di Roma Antica*, p. 151. where the different opinions are stated relative to the situation of the *Tullianum.*

12. *Camera,* &c., "a vaulted roof secured by stone arches."

13. *Incultu,* "from want of cleanliness."

14. *Quibus praeceptum erant.* Understand *lictores.* Compare note 8, page 39.

15. *Laqueo gulam fregere,* "strangled him." It was the Roman custom to put to death criminals of rank in the prison; to inflict public punishment on others.

16. *Ex omni copia,* "out of the entire force."

17. *Duas legiones instituit,* "formed two legions." Catiline formed, if the expression may be allowed, the skeletons of two legions. He had not, at first, a sufficient number of men to form the regular complement of each legion; still, however, he divided what men he had into twenty cohorts, ten for a legion, and these cohorts he subdivided into maniples and centuries. The cohorts, maniples, and centuries, all wanted at first their regular complement of men, and only obtained it gradually as fresh troops arrived at the camp.

18. *Numero hominum,* "with the regular number of men." The legion contained different numbers of men at different times, from 3000 to 6000. In the time of Polybius it was 4200. The subject is well discussed by Lipsius, *De Militia Romana, dial.* 4. Each legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries. So that there were thirty maniples and sixty centuries in a legion, and if there always had been 100 men in each century, as its name imports, the legion would have consisted of 6000 men.

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1. *Sparos*, "darts." The form of this weapon is not clearly ascertained. Servius (*ad Aen.* 11. 682.) describes it as follows: "*Telum rusticum in modum pedis* (read, with R. Stephens, *pedi*) *recurvum*." Festus observes, "*Spara parvissimi generis jacula, ab eo quod spargantur dicta.*" and Nonius, (c. 18. n. 12.) "*Spari tela sunt non bellica.*"

2. *Praeacutas sudes*, "stakes pointed at the end."

3. *In Gallium versus*, "in the direction of Gaul," or, "towards Gaul." Dr. Butler's remarks on the preposition *versus* may not prove unacceptable to the student. "This preposition marks the tendency or direction of an object. It is, in fact, only the participle of the verb *verto*, signifying the direction *towards* which the thing or person spoken of is *turned*, and is frequently used with the preposition *ad* or *in*; with the former of which it also combines into one preposition, *adversus* or *adversum*. Indeed, when it appears used alone, one of these prepositions is probably understood after it, unless it be said, like *secundum*, to govern the case of its verb; but there is this material difference between them, that *secundum* comes from *sequor*, a verb with an active meaning, *versus* from the passive *vertor*: it is better, therefore, after this word, to understand the prepositions *ad* or *in*. Though called a preposition, which it is, in point of grammatical order of construction, yet, in speaking or writing it is always placed after its case." *Butler's Praxis on the Latin Prepositions*, p. 125.

4. *Sese habiturum*, "that he himself would soon have one." Understand *occasionem pugnandi*. Some editions have *magnas copias habiturum*.

5. *Cujus*, "of which class of persons." Understand *generis*, or *servitii*. Singular relatives are sometimes referred to collective antecedents in the plural. Compare Priscian, 17. 20. vol. 2, p. 81. ed. Krehl. "*Cujus* enim singulare ad rem retulit (Sallustius) id est *cujus rei servitiorum*." Consult also the excursus of Cortius on this passage of Sallust.

6. *Alienum suis rationibus*, "inconsistent with his views." Catiline, however, had intended originally to have employed the services of the slaves. Compare chapters 24 and 46 of this same history

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40 7. *In agrum Pistoriensem.* Pistoria was a town of Etruria, about 20 miles north-west of Florentia, (*Florence.*) It was situate on the Stella, which falls into the *Ombrone*, a northern branch of the Arnus, or *Arno*. Near it the battle was fought between the forces of Catiline and the army of the Republic It is now called *Pistoia.*

8. *Perfugerent.* In some editions *perfugeret;* in others, *profugeret.*

9. *Galliam.* Cisalpine, not Transalpine, Gaul is here meant. Ἡ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἄλπεων Κελτική, not Ἡ ἐπέκεινα τῶν Ἄλπεων.

10. *Ex difficultate rerum,* &c. "Suspecting, from the difficulties which encompassed him, that Catiline was meditating those very plans of which we have made mention above;" i. e. was meditating an escape into Gaul.

11. *Sub ipsis radicibus,* "at the very foot."——*in Galliam properanti.* We have inclosed these words within brackets as savouring of a gloss, in accordance with the opinion of th best editors.

12. *Utpote qui,* &c. "Inasmuch as he."

13. *Expeditus.* Some editions place a comma after *aequioribus,* and another after *expeditus,* which then may signify "unencumbered by baggage." We have given, however, the reading of Cortius, which may be rendered as follows: "encountering fewer obstacles to his progress along a more level country:" fewer obstacles, namely, than Catiline did in his passage across the mountains. Others prefer placing a comma after *aequioribus,* and reading *expeditos in fugam sequeretur* They make *expeditos in fugam* equivalent to *sine impedimentis fugientes.*

14. *Montibus atque copiis.* The forces of Antonius, in Etruria, pressed Catiline in the rear, while Metellus stood ready in Gaul, at the foot of the Apennines, to intercept the enemy as they fled. Compare the words of Catiline in the following chapter: "*Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant.*"

15. *Praesidii.* "Relief," or, "succour."

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1. *Verba.* Some editions have *viris* after *verba.* Its omission is more in accordance with the general style of the historian. 41

2. *Moribus,* "by habit."

3. *Quoque modo.* "And in what way."

4. *Quo in loco.* "In what situation."

5. *Unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia.* "One on the side of the city, the other on the side of Gaul." Compare note 14, page 40.

6. *Si maxume animus ferat.* "Even if we be very greatly inclined;" i. e. however much we may be inclined so to do.

7. *Forti atque parato animo.* "Of a brave and resolute spirit."

8. *Illis supervacaneum est,* &c. Equivalent to *illis nec necessitatis nec utilitatis est pro potentia paucorum pugnare.* "They lie under no obligation to fight in defence of the power of a few." No necessity urges them to throw away their lives in support of an odious aristocracy; and therefore you will find them the easier to be subdued."

9. *Viris.* "To men of spirit."

10. *Relinquere.* Understand *haec.* "to abandon this career on which you have entered." Some editions express *haec.*

11. *Pace bellum mutavit.* "Has exchanged war for peace." Equivalent to *pro bello pacem habuit.*

12. *Cum.* Some editions have *tum, cum arma,* &c.

13. *Quis.* For *quibus.*

1. *Ea vero dementia est.* "That indeed is folly." *Demens,* strictly speaking, denotes one who is deficient in point of sense and judgment in certain things. Some editions give *vera,* in place of *vero,* in the text. 42

2. *Qui maxime timent.* The antecedent *illis* is elegantly understood.

3. *Inulti animam amittatis.* Understand *ne.* "That ye part not with life unavenged."

4. *Instructos ordines.* "His troops as they were drawn up."

5. *Pedes.* "On foot." The nominative singular.

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42 6. *Pro loco atque copiis.* "In accordance with the nature of the ground, and the extent of his forces."

7. *Nam, uti planities,* &c. "For, as the plain was situate between mountains on the left, and as there was on the right a craggy rock." If we read *rupe,* as some editions have it, *existente* is understood: if *rupes,* it is the nominative to *erat* understood. The meaning, however, is the same in either case.

8. *Reliqua signa,* &c. "The rest of his forces he stations in closer order, as a body of reserve." *Signa,* which properly denotes the standards, is here put by metonymy for the troops themselves. Each century, or at least each maniple, had its proper standard and standard-bearer.

9. *Ab his centuriones,* &c. We have given *lectos* with Cortius and others. Some editions have *electos,* which may be construed as a substantive. The *electi,* according to Vegetius, (2. 6.) composed the first cohort, which took its post by the eagle, and was regarded as the head of the legion, (*caput legionis.*) The Bipont edition reads *electos.*

10. *Evocatos.* The *evocati* were veterans who had served out their time, but had been prevailed upon to follow the standard of a commander whom they approved. They were exempted from the drudgery of military service.

11. *Faesulanum quendam.* "A certain inhabitant of Faesulae." Plutarch calls him Furius.——*curare,* "to take command." *Curare* appears to be the proper word on such occasions. Compare Jug. 57. "*Legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret.*"

12. *Libertis et colonis.* By the *liberti* are meant his own freedmen: for if freedmen in general had been meant, Sallust would have used *libertinis* instead of *libertis.* By *coloni* are meant Sylla's veterans, who had been settled in the military colonies.

13. *Propter aquilam,* &c. Each Roman legion had for its chief standard an eagle of gold or silver, with expanded wings, on the top of a spear, sometimes holding a thunderbolt in its claws, with the figure of a small chapel above it. Consult *Rasche, Lex Rei Numm.* vol. 1, p. 995. Probably the same

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eagle is meant in the text of which Cicero speaks, (1. in Cat. 9.) "*cui domi* (Catilinae) *sacrarium scelerum constitutum fuit.*" 42

14. *Bello Cimbrico.* In the year of the city 640, the Cimbri, from the north of Germany, and the Cimbric Chersonese, uniting with the Teutones, another German nation, made an irruption into the Roman provinces. After having defeated several Roman commanders, they were completely overthrown by Marius and Catulus. Marius vanquished the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae in Gaul, now *Aix;* while to Catulus, his colleague, must be ascribed the merit of the victory over the Cimbri, in the *Raudii Campi,* near Milan or rather Cremona.

15. *Pedibus aeger.* Dio Cassius informs us that Antonius feigned illness on the day of battle, fearful of encountering the reproaches of Catiline in case the latter should meet him in the fight. Catiline, according to the same authority, preferred coming to an engagement with the forces of Antonius rather than with those of Metellus, although the former commander had the larger army of the two, because he hoped that Antonius would purposely mismanage matters during the fight. *Dio. Cass.* 37. 39. vol. 1, p. 136. ed. Reimar.

16. *M. Petreio.* Marcus Petreius, here mentioned, is the same individual who afterwards took part with Pompey against Caesar, and, as a lieutenant of the former, was engaged in military operations against Caesar in Spain and Africa. When Caesar had proved victorious in the battle of Thapsus, Petreius attempted to destroy himself by fighting with his friend, king Juba, in single combat. Juba was killed first, and Petreius obliged one of his slaves to run him through. Compare Appian, *Bel. Civ.* 2. 100. Cicero speaks of him in terms of high commendation, (*pro P. Sextio,* 5.) "*Si M. Petreii non excellens animo, et amore reipublicae, non praestans in republica virtus, non summa auctoritas apud milites, non mirificus usus in re militari extitisset, neque adjutor ei P. Sextius ad excitandum Antonium, cohortandum, impellendum fuisset; datus illo in bello esset hiemi locus, neque unquam Catilina, cum e pruina Apen-*

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42 *nini atque e nivibus illis emersisset, atque aestatem integram nactus, Italiae calles et pastorum stabula praeclara cepisset, sine multo sanguine, ac sine totius Italiae vastitate miserrima concidisset.*"

17. *Tumulti.* A war in Italy, or against the Gauls, was called *tumultus*, a much stronger term than *bellum*.

18. *Ipse.* Some commentators condemn the use of *ipse* in this, and *ille* in the preceding clause, with reference to the same person. The explanation, however, is an easy one: *Antonius exercitum Petreio permittit.* Ille *Petreius*, &c., ("that officer;") and again, *Petreius suum cuique cohorti locum assignat.* Ipse *equo circumiens*, ("riding around in person.")

19. *Inermos. Inermus* and *inermis* are indiscriminately used.

20. *Cernere.* Used here for *decernere:* the simple verb for the compound.——*Homo militaris.* Used, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for "*homo rei militaris peritissimus,*" "a man of great military experience."

21. *Tribunus.* "Tribune." The military tribunes of the Romans nearly corresponded to the colonels of modern times. There were six in each legion, who commanded under the consul.

22. *Praefectus.* "Prefect." When the term *praefectus* stands alone, as in the present instance, it denotes a commander of the allies. The *praefecti* among the allies, were of the same rank with the *tribuni* among the Roman forces. The officers of the allies were for the most part Romans, chosen by the consul or senate.

43 1. *Tuba.* The Romans used only wind-instruments of music in the army. The *tuba* was straight, like our trumpet; the *lituus*, or clarion, was bent a little at the end, like the augur's staff, (*lituus*) whence the name. The *tuba* was used as a signal for the foot, the *lituus* for the horse. Compare Lipsius, *de Militia Romana, dial.* 10.

2. *Ferentariis.* The light-armed troops, beside other appellations, were styled *ferentarii*, because they carried what they threw.

3. *Cum infestis signis.* Some editors reject *cum* as superfluous in this passage. The preposition, however, must be re

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tained, since it indicates an immediate and rapid advance, along with the very standards, (*cum ipsis signis.*) 43

4. *Pila omittunt*, "they throw aside their spears."

5. *Veterani*. Belonging to the Roman army.

6. *Illi*. Referring to the veterans of Catiline.

7. *Interea Catilina*, &c. The student will observe the animated air which the succession of infinitives imparts to this sentence, until the mind of the reader is allowed to repose itself on the finite form at its close, *exsequebatur*.

8. *Arcessere*. In some editions *accersere*, but the latter is a mere corruption of the former, and ought never to be used.

9. *Contra ac ratus erat*. "Contrary to what he had imagined would be the case."

10. *Cohortem praetoriam*. Among the Romans, the general was usually attended by a select band, called *cohors Praetoria*. It was first instituted by Scipio Africanus, according to Festus, but something similar was used long before that time, as appears from Livy, 2. 20. This differs essentially from the praetorian cohort in the history of the empire.

11. *In primis*. "Among the first," not, as some render it, "among the foremost." The expression must be referred to *cadunt*, not to *pugnantes*. It would have been very scanty praise to have said of them, that they fell fighting "among the foremost," or "in the foremost ranks;" for how could they, as commanders, have done otherwise? Besides, if such had been the meaning of the historian, he would have preferred to express it by *inter primos*.

12. *In confertissimos*, &c. "He rushes into the thickest of the enemy."

13. *Pugnando*. In other editions *vivus* is inserted before *pugnando* without any necessity.

14. *Quos*. Some editions have *quos medios*.

15. *Paullo diversius*. "In a somewhat more scattered manner."

16. *Advorsis volneribus*. "With wounds in front." *Volneribus* an archaism for *vulneribus*.

17. *Civis ingenuus*, "free citizen." *Ingenuus*, among the

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43 Romans, denoted a person born of parents who had always been free.

44 1. *Ita.* "So little."

2. *Laetitia, moeror, &c.* *Laetitia* properly denotes a transport of joy, or joy expressed strongly by the actions of the individual. *Gaudium*, on the contrary, denotes the calm and rational emotion of joy. Cicero ranks *laetitia* among the "*perturbationes animi*," or "*appetitus vehementiores*," (*Tusc. Quaest.* 4.) and observes that *laetitia* occasions "*profusam hilaritatem*," extravagant gaiety, intemperate gladness or mirth. The same writer furnishes us likewise with the following distinctions between an opposite class of words: "*Aegritudini subjiciuntur angor, moeror, dolor, luctus, aerumna, afflictatio.* Angor *est aegritudo premens*, Moeror *aegritudo flebilis*, Aerumna *aegritudo laboriosa*, Dolor *aegritudo crucians*, Afflictatio *aegritudo cum vexatione corporis*, Luctus *aegritudo ex ejus, qui carus fuit, interitu*." (*Tusc. Quaest.* 4.) The passage of Sallust, therefore, to which this note refers, may, in accordance with the above, be rendered "Joy, grief, sorrow, and gladness prevailed," &c.

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We have now reached the close of this eventful narrative, and have traced the progress of a conspiracy which, though arrested in its earlier stages, yet proved one of those violent shocks that hastened the fall of the Roman state. It may not be amiss, before concluding, to mention a few particulars which are passed over in silence by the historian. From Dio Cassius, 37, 40 and 41, we learn, that Antonius, after the battle, sent the head of Catiline to Rome, in order to quiet all apprehension on the part of the inhabitants; and that he himself was honoured with the title of *Imperator*, although he had taken no active part in the fight, and although the number of slain (3000) was less than that for which this title was usually awarded, (5000.) A public thanksgiving was also decreed, and the garb of mourning, which the citizens had assumed when the conspiracy broke out, was again laid aside. The ac-

complices of Catiline, who had either not been present in the battle, or had escaped from the field, spread themselves over Italy, but were in part taken and executed. One of the number, Lucius Vettius, turned informer against the rest: but he accused so many as to excite the suspicion of the senate, who ordered him, not to commit to writing the names of those against whom he informed, but to mention them at once by word of mouth. This confused and alarmed him, and but few were subsequently accused. The names of those whom he had implicated having been concealed from the people at large, great confusion and alarm in consequence prevailed. To quiet this general feeling of insecurity, the senate resolved to publish the names in question, which was accordingly done. Some of the accused stood trial and were condemned; others abandoned their sureties and fled.

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END OF NOTES TO CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

# NOTES

TO THE

# JUGURTHINE WAR.

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1. *Imbecilla.* Agreeing with *natura.* 47

2. *Forte potius,* &c. "It is influenced more by chance than by the exertion of intellect."

3. *Quam vim aut tempus,* "than ability or duration;" i. e. than additional power or an enlarged period of existence.

4. *Pollens potensque,* "powerful and vigorous." *Pollens* refers here to innate strength; *potens* to its exercise.

5. *Quippe probitatem,* &c., "since it (i. e. fortune) can neither give nor take away integrity, industry, other praiseworthy qualities." *Industria,* in this passage, properly implies the active exercise of our abilities.

6. *Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus,* &c. "But if, ensnared by vicious desires, it has been consigned to the destructive bondage of sloth and corporeal gratifications," &c. Cortius makes *pessum* a supine from the old verb *petior, (petio)* "I am forced downwards," "I am trampled upon." Scheller regards it as a noun, equivalent in meaning to *fundum,* "the bottom:" thus *pessum ire,* "to go to the bottom," "to be destroyed" or ruined. So in Plautus, (*Rud.* 2. 3. 64.) *Nunc eam cum navi scilicet abiisse pessum in altum;* i. e. "to have gone to the deep bottom," "to have sunk to the bottom:" and in Tacitus, (*Ann.* 1. 79.) *pessum ituros campos,* "that the fields would be ruined." We have endeavoured, in our translation of the passage of Sallust to which this note refers, to unite

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47 these two explanations; which in fact differ very little from one another, since every supine is a verbal noun.

7. *Perniciosa lubidine*, &c. The nominative absolute, instead of *Ubi, postquam perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus est, per secordiam vires*, &c. "When, after it has enjoyed for a season this destructive indulgence," &c.

8. *Suam quisque culpam*, &c. "The authors of these evils transfer each to affairs the blame which is their own;" i. e. they allege, in extenuation of their mental inactivity, that the affairs to which they had directed their attention, proved too difficult to be accomplished by them.

9. *Quod si hominibus*, &c. "But if mankind were inspired with as great a regard for things conducive to their welfare, as is the zeal with which they seek after," &c.

10. *Ubi*. Equivalent to *in quo collocati*, or to our phrase, "in which."——*pro mortalibus*, "instead of mortals," or, "from mortals."

48 1. *Praeclara facies*, "personal beauty."

2. *Ingenii egregia facinora*, "the splendid exertions of intellect."

3. *Postremo, corporis*, &c. "In fine, as there is a beginning, so is there an end, of the advantages of person and fortune."

4. *Aeternus*. A slight sketch of the Platonic doctrine respecting the soul, may not prove uninteresting. The human soul, according to them, is derived from the supramundane soul, or first principle of life, and is, in this respect, sister to the soul which animates the world. Souls are not in the body as their place, nor as their receptacle, nor as their subject, nor as a part of a whole, nor as a form united to matter, but simply as the animating principle: for it is in this respect only that we know the soul to be present with the body. The power of the soul is diffused through every part of the body; and though it be said to reside in its chief instrument, the brain, it is incorporeal, and exists entirely every where within the sphere of its energy. Partaking of the nature of real being, it is immutable. It is the principle of motion, moving itself, and communicating motion to bodies. The vices and infelicities of the soul are wholly derived from its union with the bo-

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dy. Souls, in the periodical revolutions of nature, separate themselves from their fountain, and descend into the lower regions of the world. In their passage they attract to themselves an etherial vehicle, and at last sink into animal bodies, as into a cavern or sepulchre. But when, by the power of reminiscence, they again turn themselves to the contemplation of intelligible and divine natures, they regain their freedom. God, on account of his greatness, is not known by intelligence or sense, but by a kind of intuition superior to science, by means of which the soul can see him in his real nature, as the fountain of life, mind, and being, and the cause of good. A soul which has attained to this vision of God, will lament its union with the body, and will rejoice to leave its prison, and return to the divine nature from which it proceeded. After death, the souls of men pass into other animals, or ascend into upper regions, and are converted into beings of an higher order, according to their present degree of defilement or purification. *Enfield's History of Philosophy*, vol. 2, p. 90.

5. *Agit atque habet cuncta.* "Controuls the movements of and holds all things beneath its sway." Compare *Ovid. Met.* 1. 197. "*Quum mihi, qui fulmen, qui vos habeoque regoque.*" ——*neque ipse habetur,* "and is itself subjected by none."

6. *Quo.* "On which account."

7. *Incultu,* "through want of culture."

8. *Artes animi,* "mental employments."

9. *Ex his.* "Of these employments of the mind." Understand *artibus animi.*

10. *Omnis cura,* &c., "all charge of public affairs," or, "Every office of administration."

11. *Quibus per fraudem,* &c., "who have obtained authority by unfair means;" i. e. by bribery or other unworthy and degrading practices.

12. *Parentes.* From *pareo,* "subjected states."

13. *Delicta corrigas,* "may rectify abuses."

14. *Omnes rerum mutationes,* "all innovations in the state."

15. *Fatigando,* "after all one's exertions." Understand *se,* which in some editions is expressed.

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48 16. *Gratificari*, "of sacrificing." More usual Latinity would require *gratificandi*.

17. *Quae ingenio exercentur*, "which form the exercise of the mind." Literally, "which are exercised upon by the mind."

18. *Memoria rerum gestarum*, "the recording of past events," i. e. historical composition.

19. Virtute, "excellence."

20. *Per insolentiam*, "through any feelings of ostentatious vanity."

21. *Studium laudando*, "by praising my own profession;" i. e. of an historian.

22. *Certe.* Complete the ellipsis as follows: *Ii* certe *hoc nomen imponent* (or, *hoc facient*) *quibus*, &c.

49 1. *Salutare plebem*, "to court the favour of the populace." For a long time before the election, the candidates for office endeavoured to gain the favour of the people by every popular art; by going round to their houses, by shaking hands with those whom they met, by addressing them in a friendly manner, and naming them, &c., on which account they commonly had along with them a monitor, or *Nomenclator*, who whispered in their ears every body's name.

2. *Temporibus.* Sallust obtained the office of Quaestor, which entitled him to a seat in the Senate, at the age of twenty-seven, a few years after the conspiracy of Catiline, and while the state was thrown into the greatest confusion by the acts of Clodius and his followers. He was made tribune of the commons six years after, on which occasion, according to some authorities, Cato was his competitor, but according to others, when he was made praetor. To his success over Cato, the historian alludes in the words *quales viri*, &c. If this competition occurred for the office of praetor, he had no great reason to be proud of his success, since he obtained that magistracy entirely through the interest of Caesar.

3. *Merito*, "on good grounds."

4. *Q. Maximum.* Quintus Fabius Maximus, the famous opponent of Hannibal; of whom Ennius says,

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"*Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem:*
*Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.*"

5. *P. Scipionem.* The elder Africanus, who conquered Hannibal in the battle of Zama.

6. *Imagines.* Among the Romans, those whose ancestors, or who themselves, had borne any curule office, that is, had been consul, praetor, censor, or curule aedile, were called *Nobiles*, and had the right of making images of themselves, which were kept with great care by their posterity, and exhibited only at funerals or on solemn occasions. These images were nothing more than the busts or effigies of the individuals, down to the shoulders, made of wax and painted. They were placed in the courts of the houses, enclosed in wooden cases. One particular, relative to the mode in which they were exhibited, deserves attention. They were not *carried* before the deceased at funerals, as Dr. Adam erroneously states, but actors were employed to personate the individual ancestors, and these busts or images formed a part of the disguise. A Roman funeral therefore must have presented a singular appearance, with a long line of ancestors stalking gravely through the streets of the capital. The authorities on this curious point are as follows: *Plin. H. N.* 35. 12. *Plaut. Amph.* 1. 1. 301. *Polyb.* 6. 53. *Sueton. Vespas.* 19. *Diod. Sic.* vol. 2, p. 518. *ed. Wess.*

7. *Scilicet non ceram illam,* &c. "We may well suppose that neither the mere wax of which they were made, nor the form it had assumed, possessed such power in themselves." *Scilicet* must be here resolved into its component members (*scire licet*) and hence the grammatical construction of the sentence is as follows: *scire licet non ceram illam,* &c. *habere.*

8. *Eorum.* "Of the former;" i. e. their ancestors.

9. *His moribus,* "amid the manners of the day."

10. *Novi.* "New men." Those who were the first of their family that had raised themselves to any curule office were called among the Romans *homines novi.* Compare note 11, page 15, in the Conspiracy of Catiline.

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49 11. *Per latrocinia.* We have enclosed *quam bonis artibus* in brackets, as this idea is sufficiently expressed by *per virtutem* which precedes. The expression *furtim et per latrocinia* may be rendered ; "by private intrigue and unfair practices."

12. *Perinde habeantur, ut*, &c. *Ac* is more frequently used in this sense after *perinde*, but its occurrence at the beginning of the clause prevents its being again employed, on the principle of euphony. *Ac non perinde habeantur*, &c. may be rendered as follows: "and are not to be estimated according to the merit of those who fill them."

13. *Liberius altiusque*, "too freely and too far."

14. *Redeo.* Used for the simple *eo*, which is here to be taken in the sense of *venio*. According to Donatus, the particle *re* is sometimes redundant in composition. He cites as an instance of very frequent occurrence, *renuntio* for the simple *nuntio*

15. *Numidarum.* Numidia, now *Algiers*, a country of Africa, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean ; on the west by the Ampsagas, now *Wad-el-kibir*, (i. e. the Great river,) which separated it from Mauretania, now *Marocco* and *Fez;* on the south by Gætulia, now *Beled-el-gerid;* and on the east by the Mulucha, now *Mulviah*, the boundary between Numidia and Africa Propria or *Tunis*.

16. *Variaque victoria fuit*, "and the success was various; i. e. sometimes on the side of Jugurtha, and again on that of the Romans.

17. *Divina et humana cuncta.* "All things religious and civil." Compare Florus, 5. 7. "*Tum quidem domus, templa et arae, humana omnia, et divina jura violata sunt.*"

18. *Studiis civilibus*, "civil dissentions."

50 1. *Pauca supra repetam.* "I will take a brief review."

2. *Quo ad cognoscendum*, &c. "In order that all things may be clearer, and placed in a more distinct point of view, for the purpose of being thoroughly understood." The gerund is here used in a passive sense, according to the grammarians. A few instances of the same construction occur elsewhere in the ancient writers. Compare *Sanctii Minerv*. 3. 8. p. 454. with the note of Perizonius. In fact, however, the gerund

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may always be considered as active in its meaning: thus, in the present instance, *ad cognoscendum* may be rendered "for the knowing of them." 50

3. *Post magnitudinem nominis, &c.* Equivalent to *Postquam nomen Romanum magnum est factum.* "Since the Roman name became illustrious."

4. *In amicitia.* The more common reading is *in amicitiam.* Many manuscripts, however, give the lection which our text exhibits, and it would seem to recommend itself by its reference to a long-continued and firm friendship, as expressed by the ablative.

5. *Syphace.* Syphax was king of the Masaesyli in Africa He married Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, and forsook the alliance of the Romans for that of the Carthaginians. Encamping his army apart from that of Asdrubal, both camps were in the night surprised and burnt by Scipio; and afterwards, in a general engagement, the united Carthaginian and Numidian armies were defeated. Syphax, upon this, hastened back to his own country, but being pursued by Laelius and Masinissa, he, together with his son, was taken prisoner, and brought back to Scipio. The conqueror carried him to Rome, where he adorned his triumph. Syphax died in prison, B. C. 201. This proper name is said to have the penult of the genitive common, (*Syphācis* and *Syphăcis.*) The short quantity, however, occurs only in Claudian, (*de Bello Gildon.* 91.) "*Compulimus dirum Syphacem, fractumque Metello.* But the true reading here is *Hannibalem*, as conjectured by Barth, and adopted in the best subsequent editions.

6. *Regi.* Massinissa.

7. *Imperii vitaeque, &c.* The grant of the Romans ceased with the life of Masinissa. His son Micipsa reigned merely over that part of Numidia which had originally belonged to his parent. Cirta and the portion of Numidia which Syphax had possessed, were formed into a Roman province. Hence *imperii* in our text, refers to the empire of Masinissa in its full extent, embracing what he had received from the Romans.

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50 8. *Absumtis*, "being carried off." The more usual form is *absumptis*.

9. *Cultu*. *Cultus* here implies every thing which has relation to the rearing of youth, so that the whole clause may be rendered as follows: "he reared at home in the same way with his own children."

10. *Luxu*. The old dative for *luxui*. The following examples of the same form may be here mentioned. *Anu*, (Lucil. fragm. 135.) *Tactu*, (Plaut. Asin. 2. 2. 50.) *Usu*, (Lucret. 3. 984.) *Visu*, (Lucret. 5. 102.) Compare also Burmann, *ad Propert*. p. 119. Some consider *luxu*, in the passage under consideration, as an ablative: if this be preferred, there will be a variety of construction in the same sentence, which is not unusual with our author. The best editions, however, take both *luxu* and *inertiae* (and not the latter merely) for the dative case.

11. *Cum omnis*, &c., "though he surpassed all in reputation."

12. *Primus, aut in primis ferire*, "he was the first, or among the first, to strike." So *primus fecit*, "he was the first to do it;" but *primus erat qui fecit*, "he who did it was the first." This rule of construction, simple as it is, formed, not many years ago, a fertile ground of controversy between the Edinburgh Review and an Oxford critic, evidently to the advantage of the latter. Compare *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 68 et seqq. *in notis*, 3d ed.

13. *Exacta sua aetate*, &c., "his own age being far advanced, his children small."

14. *Magis magisque crescere*, "increased more and more in reputation," or "rose daily in favour with the people."

15. *Imperii*. "Power," or "sway."

16. *Praeceps ad explendum*, "hurried headlong to the gratification of their ruling passion."

17. *Praeterea opportunitas*, &c., "besides, the favourable opportunity afforded by his own and the age of his children, which leads even moderate men astray from the path of duty by the hope of self-aggrandisement."

51 1. *Popularibus*, "to his countrymen."

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2. *Numantino.* Numantia was a town of Spain, near the source of the river Durius, now *Douro*, celebrated for its long resistance to the Roman power. It was not indeed defended by very regular fortifications, and yet, at the same time, was very strong both by nature and art. It was built upon a mountain, between two of the branches of the Durius, and was surrounded by very thick woods on three sides. One path alone led down into the plain, and this was defended by ditches and palisades. The great length of time it withstood the Romans, (14 years,) may be easily accounted for by its difficult situation, and by the circumstance of its circuit being so large as to admit within it pastures for cattle. Compare *Liv. Epit.* 56. *Vell. Paterc.* 2. 4. 2 and 5. 51

3. *Ostentando virtutem,* "in displaying his valour."

4. *Saevitia,* "by the furious bravery."

5. *Impigro atque acri ingenio,* "of a quick and penetrating turn of mind."

6. *Morem hostium,* "the mode of fighting practised by the enemy."

7. *Adferre,* "to generate."

8. *Res asperas,* "difficult enterprises."

9. *Magis magisque in dies amplecti,* "he became more and more attached to him every day."——*frustra erat,* "failed."

10. *Ingenii sollertia,* "a shrewdness of intellect."

11. *Potiores,* "possessed of more charms."

12. *Apud socios,* &c., "men rather of note among our allies than really possessed of integrity."

13. *Non mediocrem animum,* "the ambitious spirit."

1. *Revorti.* An archaism for *reverti.* The change from *o* to *e*, in words of this kind, was introduced, according to Quintilian, by (the younger) Scipio. "Quid dicam *vortices* et *vorsus*, ceteraque ad eundum modum, quae primo Scipio Africanus in E literam secundam vertisse dicitur?" *Quintil.* 1. 7. 25. *ed. Spald.* Compare *Schneider L. G.* vol. 1, p. 12. 52

2. *Praetorium,* "the general's tent." The name of Praetor (*is qui praeit jure et exercitu*, Varro.) was anciently common to all the magistrates. Thus the dictator is called *Praetor maximus*, (*Liv.* 7. 3.) The term *praetorium*, in its widest accepta-

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52 tion, includes the space around the tent itself, for the retinue and body-guard of the general.

3. *Publice quam privatim,* "as a nation, rather than that of individuals."

4. *Quibus.* Used for *aliquibus.*

5. *Artibus.* *Ars* is here equivalent to *virtus,* and *in suis artibus* may be rendered, "in the exercise of those abilities which he possessed."

6. *Ultro,* "without any exertions on his part."

7. *Properantius,* "too hastily."

8. *Pro nostra amicitia,* "in consideration of our mutual friendship;" i. e. I congratulate you as a friend.

9. *Igitur rex, ubi,* &c. "The king, therefore, when he learned from the general's letter, that the things which he had heard from rumour were true." *Ita esse* for *ita esse uti acceperat:* were so as he had heard.

10. *Cum virtute viri,* &c., "strongly influenced both by the merit of the man and his popularity with the Romans."

11. *Cum Jugurtha.* The presence of the preposition in this passage marks the familiar nature of the address to Jugurtha, which approached in fact to a conversation.

12. *In meum regnum,* "into my kingdom;" i. e. as one of my heirs. In this assertion of Micipsa's there was evidently no truth, and Jugurtha, as appears from the beginning of the next chapter, viewed it in this light.

13. *Liberis.* All the manuscripts exhibit *liberis.* Ursinus, however, and Ciacconius, whom the Dauphin editor follows, reject this word as redundant, and make the clause equivalent to *non minus me tibi, quam si te genuissem,* &c. That this opinion is an erroneous one must be very apparent. The meaning of the dying monarch is this: that, upon adopting Jugurtha, he expected from him the same return of natural affection as he would receive from his own children, should he ever have any. The clause therefore must be rendered: "thinking that I would be no less dear to you than to my own children, in case I should become the father of any." According to this declaration of Micipsa's, he adopted Jugurtha previous to having any offspring of his own. The want of

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truth in this assertion speaks for itself. Compare the preceding note. 52

14. *Falsum habuit*. Understand *me*. *Falsum habere* is a circumlocution for *fallere*, the simple verb. *Neque ea res falsum habuit*, "nor was I deceived in my expectation." The essential difference between *decipere* and *fallere* appears to be this. —*Decipere* always implies, that the person deceived is misled, or imposed upon, by something positive and express in the person or thing deceiving; and *fallere*, that we are deceived by something negative, or indirect, in words, actions, or appearance. The former denotes that we are deceived by something which we see, or hear, or know;—the other, by something which we do not know, in the character of the person or thing deceiving. Hence *fallere* often denotes "to elude our notice;" "to escape our observation;" but *decipere* never implies this idea. If we are deceived by the pretended virtues of the hypocrite, we say, *me decepit;* if by his concealed vices, *me fefellit*. *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 437. 3d ed.

15. *Tua*. Understand *facinora*, in the sense of "exploits."

1. *Per regni fidem*, "by the fidelity you owe my kingdom." 53

2. *Non exercitus*, &c. This beautiful idea is borrowed from the dying speech of Cyrus, in Xenophon, *Cyrop*. 8. 7. 14. Οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον το τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζον ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον.

3. *Officio et fide*, "by kind offices and by the exercise of fidelity."

4. *Quis autem amicior*. Understand *debet esse*. Compare Menander, as cited by Wasse; νόμιζ' ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς φίλους.

5. *Dilabuntur*, "fall gradually to ruin."

6. *Sumsisse*, "to have adopted." The more usual form is *sumpsisse*.

7. *Ficta*, "insincerely."

8. *Diebus*. Some manuscripts and editions have *paucis post diebus*.

9. *Justa*, "his obsequies." Understand *funera*. We have

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53 it expressed in Caesar, B. G. 6. 4. "*Justis funeribus confectis.*" Compare the corresponding Greek form, τὰ νομιζόμενα.

10. *Reguli*, "the princes." Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha. The term *regulus* is here employed not so much with reference to their age, as to the division of the kingdom among them: it denotes properly "a petty monarch."

11. *Dextra Adherbalem adsedit*, "sat down on the right hand of Adherbal;" i. e. *adsedit Adherbalem a dextra manu.* The accusative *Adherbalem* is governed by *ad* in composition.

12. *Apud.* Some editions give *et* before *apud*, on the ground that the middle place was the most honourable also among the Romans. This reading is sanctioned by no manuscripts, but was first conjectured by Lipsius, (2. *Elect. c.* 2.) The remark of Cortius, in condemnation of it, is perfectly satisfactory. "*Quis talia ab historico exegerit? Si de Numidis narrat, non facile aliquis intulerit aliter propterea fuisse apud Romanos.*"

13. *Fatigatus a fratre*, "being wearied out by the solicitations of his brother."

54 1. *Jacit*, "throws out the remark."

2. *Ipsum illum.* Referring to Jugurtha.

3. *Altius descendit*, "sank deeper."

4. *Ira et metu anxius*, &c., "distracted by anger and fear, he plotted, he contrived," &c.

5. *Tardius*, "too slowly." *Tardius* scil. *quam voluerat.*

6. *Propter dissensionem*, "to prevent disputes:" *Ne esset dissensioni locus.*

7. *Reguli interea*, &c. "The princes, in the mean time, retired to places in the vicinity of the treasures, one to one quarter, another to another." The custom of the barbarian monarchs in these parts, was to keep their treasures in fortified places and strong-holds. In the 37th chapter of this same narrative, mention is made of Suthul, "*ubi regis thesauri erant;*" and again, in the 92d chapter, a fortress, situate on a rock is spoken of, which Marius besieges "*quod ibi regis thesauri erant.*" Compare Strabo, (*lib.* 17. *ed. Tzsch.* vol. 6, p. 667.) Κάψα τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τοῦ Ἰουγούρθα.

8. *Proxumus lictor*, "chief lictor." The lictors went before

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those whom they attended, one by one, in a regular line. The foremost was called *Lictor primus*, and the hindmost, who immediately preceded the magistrate, was called *Lictor proximus*, or *postremus*, and used to receive and execute the commands of the individual on whom he attended. Sallust either uses the term on this occasion in accordance with the custom of other Roman writers, who applied terms which only suited the institutions of their own country to the customs and usages of other nations, or else, what is far more probable, Jugurtha had imitated the Roman form of being attended by these public functionaries. 54

9. *Uti.* Some editions insert *impellitque* before *uti*, but it would appear to have originated in a gloss.

10. *Clavis adulterinas*, "false keys."

11. *Diversi*, "in different directions."

12. *Strepitu et tumultu*, "with uproar and confusion."

13. *Mulieris ancillae*, "of a maid-servant." *Ancilla*, strictly speaking, is an adjective, and is so used by the old writers, whom Sallust here imitates; not, however, by those of a later age. (Compare *Festus*, p. 13.)

1. *Partis.* For *partes*. Some editions have *Numidae* after 55
*discedunt*.

2. *Illum alterum*, "the other." The pronoun *ille* here represents the definite article, which the Latin language wants.

3. *Provinciam*, "the Province;" i. e. the territory of Carthage, which the Romans, after the death of Masinissa, on whom they had bestowed it for the period of his life, formed into a province. Compare Strab. lib. 17. *ed. Tzsch.* vol. 6, p. 675.

4. *Jugurtha.* In some editions, *postquam omni Numidia potiebatur* follows *Jugurtha*. Cortius condemns it in very unequivocal terms: "*Turpissima glossa, quae dudum ad Gemonias trahi debuerat.*"

5. *Mittit.* Understand *legatos*. In some editions it is expressed.

6. *Quemcunque.* Some editions, and among them that of Cortius, have *quaecunque*. The reading in our text is preferable.

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55 7. *Magna munera.* In some editions *munera* is omitted.

8. *Invidia,* "odium."——*in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis,* "into the good graces and favour of the nobility."

9. *Quorum,* referring to *nobilium* understood; a collective noun, *nobilitas,* preceding.

10. *Ne gravius in eum consuleretur* "that too severe measures should not be taken against him."

11. *Procuratione,* "in the administration of it." Most editions have *regni procurationem,* which is the reading of nearly all the manuscripts. The lection which we have adopted is a conjectural emendation of Cortius's.

12. *Jus et imperium,* "the highest civil and military authority."

56 1. *Cognatorum,* "of kindred."——*adfinium,* "of relatives." Hill lays down the following distinction between *agnati* and *affines,* which does not seem, however, to be always strictly observed, though its leading features are undoubtedly correct. "*Cognatus* agrees with *agnatus* in denoting relation by blood, but differs from it in implying that the connection is traced by the female, not by the male line. '*Cognati sunt qui per foeminas conjunguntur, quasi simul nati, vel commune nascendi initium habentes.*' (*Inst. de legit. agnat. tut.* §1.) *Affinis* differs from both *agnatus* and *cognatus,* in denoting relation by marriage, and in having no reference to the line, whether male or female, in which the connection is traced. A relation of this kind was said by the Greeks to be ὁ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν συγγενής. '*Affines sunt viri et uxoris cognati, dicti ab eo, quod duae cognationes, quae diversae inter se sunt, per nuptias copulantur, et altera ad alterius cognationis finem accedit; ut cognati uxoris sunt adfines viri, ac viri cognati uxoris adfines, quorum nomina fere haec sunt, Socer, Socrus; Gener, Nurus; Noverca, Vitricus; Privignus, Privigna; et alii ulteriores.*' (*Modestin. de grad. et affin.* 38—10. 4.) Hill's Synonyms, p. 61. 4to ed.

2. *Habere.* Some editions read *habiturum.* *Habere,* however, is here used for *habiturum esse,* and must not be altered. The best writers sometimes use the present for the future when they refer to what will *certainly* take place.

3. *Et jam.* In some editions *utique.*

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4. *Populo Romano.* Some editions have *Populi Romani.* 56

5. *Ac maxume,* "and above all." After *deberi* understand *beneficia,* which in some editions is expressed.

6. *Secundum ea,* "next to this." *Secundum ea* is opposed to *maxume.* Some editions separate *secundum* and *ea* by a comma, and then *secundum* will signify, "in the second place,' and *ea* be joined in construction with *desideranda essent.*

7. *Neque mihi in manu fuit,* &c., "nor was it in my power to effect what kind of person Jugurtha should be;" i. e. "nor was it in my power to form the character of Jugurtha." After *foret, efficere* may be understood, though this is not necessary, since the clause *qualis foret Jugurtha* may be regarded as the subject-nominative to *fuit.*

8. *Quo tempore,* &c. This refers to the Romans, who were at that time engaged in an important and difficult war with the Carthaginians, and might be faithful, but could not, when their resources were thus pre-occupied, prove very efficient, allies. *Ejus* therefore will regard, not *familia nostra,* but *populo Romano.*

9. *Deformatus aerumnis,* "abject and wretched."

10. *Tamen erat,* &c., "still, it would be for the majesty of the Roman people, to prevent the commission of injustice, and not to suffer the kingdom of any potentate to increase in power by the perpetration of crime."

11. *Vos in mea injuria despecti estis,* "you are treated with contempt in the injustice which is done me." According to Hill, (*Synonyms,* p. 226. 4to ed.) *contemnere* denotes the absolute vileness of an object, while *sperniere* and *despicere* imply its relative inferiority. The two last, he observes, differ thus: *Despicere* always implies that the person despising thinks meanly of the person despised, as compared with himself; whereas *Spernere* denotes, that the person, or thing, is thought meanly of in comparison with the person despising, or in comparison with some other person or thing. Crombie remarks, that *Spernere* implies a greater degree of contempt than either of the other two verbs express, and conveys more nearly the idea of our English word "to scorn." (*Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2, p. 166. 3d. ed.)

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57 1. *Nunquamne.* In pronouncing *nunquamne* and *semperne*, the stress of the voice must be laid on the antepenultimate syllables, (*núnquamne, sémperne,*) *ne* not being an enclitic here, but only when it expresses doubt. Compare *Port-Royal Latin Gr.* vol. 2, p. 357.

2. *Incolumes*, "safe;" viz. from the Romans; i. e. "powerful."

3. *Jure.* Understand *necessitatis:* "as a matter of necessity."

4. *Pestis.* Referring to the Carthaginians. Some editions have *ex Africa* after *pestis.*

5. *Sese ecferens.* A circumlocution for *insurgens. Ecferens*, an archaism for *efferens.*

6. *Nihil minus quam vim*, &c., "expecting nothing so little as violence," &c.

7. *In imperio vestro*, "in a country subjected to your authority."

8. *Extorrem patria*, &c. An imitation of the Greek idiom, for *effecit uti ego, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum expectans in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorris patria, domo, inops, coopertus miseriis, et ubivis tutius quam in regno meo essem.*

9. *Amicitiam.* In some editions *diligenter* follows *amicitiam.*

10. *Quod in familia nostra fuit*, &c., "what was in the power of our family, it did; that it might aid you, namely, in all your wars." Our idiom would require the past tense of the indicative: "it aided you, namely," &c.

11. *Alterius.* Jugurtha. Some editions have *alter.*

12. *Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt*, "all the supports of our family are cut off."

13. *Naturae concessit*, "has paid the debt of nature." Literally, "has yielded to nature;" i. e. to the universal law of nature.

14. *Quem minume decuit*, "whom it least of all became;" i. e. who should have been the last to do it. The clause refers to *propinquus*, not to *fratri.*

15. *Capti.* Agreeing in gender with *adfines, amici*, &c., to which also *acti* and *objecti* refer by *synesis.*

16. *Necessariis*, "friendly." *Necessaria* are here opposed to *adversa*, and denote those acts of kindness and affection which

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we are necessarily led to expect from those who are connected with us by the ties of consanguinity; whence the term *necessitudo* is used for relationship, or any intimate connection. Adherbal expected from Jugurtha the kindness and affection of a brother, but met only with acts of hostility. 57

17. *Improviso.* Some editions add *mali.*

1. *Honestarum,* "which my rank in life demands." 58

2. *Quo.* Some editions have *quos.*

3. *Ob vestram amicitiam,* "on account of your friendship towards us;" i. e. our alliance with you.

4. *Majorum meorum,* &c., "very many a memorial of the hostilities committed by my forefathers." He refers here to the hostilities committed by them against the neighbouring nations, in furtherance of the Roman power.

5. *Aut,* &c., "or who can feel compassion for us, who has been at any time an enemy to you?" Some editions read *an,* for *aut.*

6. *Una nobis occidendum esse,* "that we must fall along with it."

7. *Secunda et obedientia sunt,* "second your views and are obedient to your sway."

8. *Vereor.* After the verbs *vereor, metuo, timeo, ne* is used when the following word expresses a result contrary to our wish, and *ut,* when it is agreeable to it. Thus *vereor ne facias,* "I am afraid lest you will do it;" but *vereor ut facias,* "I am afraid you will not do it." The idiom may be explained as follows: *vereor ne facias,* is simply, "I am afraid lest you may do it," which implies of course that its performance would be contrary to my wishes; whereas *vereor ut facias* is nothing more than "I am afraid in order that you may do it," which means of course that I wish the thing done, and am fearful lest that wish be not realised.——In this same passage, *quos* is put for *aliquos,* and *parum cognita* may be rendered, "little seen into by those who rely upon it."

9. *Fingere me verba,* "that I feign what I say;" i. e. that my complaints are mere fictions of my own.

10. *Quod utinam videam,* &c. "But would that I may see," &c. The use of *quod* before many conjunctions, &c., merely

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58 as a copulative, appears to have arisen from the fondness of the Latin writers for the connection by means of relatives. Compare *Zumpt, L. G. Kenrick's translation*, p. 404. 2d ed.

11. *Ne*, "Yes!" The more usual form is *nae*, from the Greek *ναί*.——*qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est*, "who is now emboldened by, and glories in, his crimes."

12. *Non enim*, &c., "for you have not, together with life, parted with a kingdom merely, but with flight, with exile, with poverty, and with all these sufferings which press heavy upon me." After *regnum* understand *tantum* or *tantummodo*. So *μόνον* is often to be supplied in Greek after the particle *μὴ*.

13. *Ex patrio regno*, "from the throne of my fathers." Some editions insert *pulsus* before *ex*.

59 1. *An regno consulam*, "or consult for the welfare of my kingdom;" i. e. by making peace with the usurper save my subjects from the horrors of war.

2. *Cujus vitae necisque*, &c., "whose own life and death depend entirely upon the aid which I am soliciting from others."

3. *Emori*, "a speedy death."

4. *Neu jure contemtus*, &c., "and that I might not appear a just object of contempt," &c. Cortius reads *neu vivere contemtus viderer*, which he makes equivalent to *aut tamen non contentus viverem*, "or that I might not live an object of contempt." It is, however, an inferior lection, in our opinion.

5. *Neque vivere lubet*, "life neither possesses any charms.' Some editions read *neque quoniam*, and complete the sentence at the close of the speech.

6. *Liberos*. We have inserted *per* before *liberos*, as producing a more forcible reading than that adopted by Cortius, viz. *per vos, liberos, atque parentes*.

7. *Depravati*, "corrupted." *Depravati* refers through *pars* to *Senatores*, which *senatus* implies.

8. *Gratia, voce*, "by private influence, by openly opposing the measure."

9. *Carius*. Agreeing with *aequum*, the nearer noun.

10. *Subveniundum*. Dumesnil makes the following distinc-

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tion between *subvenire* and *succurrere*. The former denotes 59
"to go to the aid of;" the latter, "to run or fly to the assistance of another." Thus, "*destitutis, debilioribus, lapsuris subvenire, humanitatis est; deprehensis et periclitantibus celerando succurrimus.*"

11. *Aemilius Scaurus.* The house of the Scauri gave many distinguished men to the Roman republic. Among them, the most eminent were M. Aemilius Scaurus, *princeps senatus*, a nobleman of great ability, and his son M. Scaurus. The former triumphed over the Carni, and made the road from Pisae and Luna to Dertona, which lies north of Genua. (Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Σκαῦρος ἐστὶν ὁ καὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ὁδὸν στρώσας τὴν διὰ Πισῶν καὶ Λούνης μέχρι Σαββάτων, κἀντεῦθεν διὰ Δέρθωνος. *Strab.* 5. *ed. Tzsck.* vol. 2, p. 117.) He would have ranked in history with the very first characters of the Roman state, had not his splendid talents been tarnished with avarice and other degrading passions. Pliny agrees with Sallust in giving the unfavourable side of the picture, observing of him, (36. 15.) "*Marianis sodalitiis rapinarum provincialium sinus fuit.*" On the other hand, Cicero highly extols his virtues, abilities, and achievements. (*De Off.* 1. 22 et 30. *Ep. ad Lentul.* 1. 9. *Brut.* 29. *Orat. pro Murena,* 7. *pro Fonteio,* 7.) It is of this same individual that Valerius Maximus (3. 7. 8.) relates the well-known anecdote, so illustrative of the high estimation in which he was held by the people. Being accused of having received a bribe from a foreign prince, he concluded a very brief defence with the following words: "*Varius Sucronensis Aemilium Scaurum, regia mercede corruptum, imperium populi Romani perdidisse ait: Aemilius Scaurus huic se affinem esse culpae negat. Utri creditis?*" The writer adds: "*Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus, Varium ab illa dementissima actione pertinaci clamore depulit.*" It is more than probable, therefore, that Sallust endeavours to depreciate Scaurus, because the latter was a member, and a strong advocate for the power, of the nobility; while Cicero, on the other hand, strives for this same reason to exalt his character. The truth undoubtedly lies between either extreme. The son, M. Scaurus, was celebrated for the splendour of his aedileship.

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59 12. *Famosam impudentemque,* "barefaced and shameless."

13. *Polluta licentia,* "this gross corruption."——*invidiam,* "popular odium."

60 1. *Qui.* Referring to *senatorum* understood, or more correctly perhaps, by synesis, to *pars* as a collective noun.

2. *C. Gracchо.* Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 620, had a law passed, called an Agrarian law, which prohibited any person from possessing more than 350 acres of public land, and ordered the surplus to be distributed among the poorer class of citizens. This law produced much dissension and confusion, was never executed, and cost the proposer his life. C. Gracchus, supported by his colleague, M. Fulvius Flaccus, pursued the footsteps of his brother Tiberius. Both of them suffered a violent death. The opinion which has, until of late years, universally prevailed, that the Agrarian laws had for their object to enforce an equality of estates, and to prevent an individual from owning more than 350 acres of any kind of land, is now completely exploded. We are indebted for a more correct view of the subject to the learning and ingenuity of Niehbuhr, who has laid down the true doctrine in his Roman History. These laws concerned not landed estates, but public lands, commons, domains. They limited not the quantity of land which the Roman citizen had a right to own and to cultivate, but the portion of the *public lands* which he had a right to take on lease from the state. The Roman patrician was as free to buy of any one who would sell, as the English or American citizen; but the arrogance of the nobles and the jealousy of the tribunes led to a series of laws limiting the quantity of the public domains, which any one might occupy or lease, to about 350 acres. (Compare *North American Rev.* New Series, Number 39. *Quarterly Review,* Number 63.) "As long," observes Niehbuhr, "as the Roman nation of Quirites were subject to a king, and consisted of the three original tribes, it was natural that a share of the conquests should be set apart for the prince; the remainder was allotted as common property to the knights or patricians, who leased it to their clients in small tenements, and by those leases multiplied their number. But when seve-

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ral thousand strangers were adopted into the rights of citizenship, and the plebeian order had formed itself; when the plebeians, either exclusively or with few exceptions, composed the infantry of the legions also, they then possessed an incontestible right to the enjoyment of lands purchased by their blood. Their great numerical superiority would have limited the original gentes, the patricians, to a very small allotment; and therefore the latter maintained an exclusive title to those lands. Both classes seem to have entered into an arrangement, that the patricians should continue to enjoy the usufruct of he domains, but the plebeians be compensated by the assignment of small lots, in full and absolute proprietorship. Hence the latter, towards the middle of the fourth century of Rome, were almost exclusively proprietors of all the lands assigned or sold by the state; while the patricians alone were in possession of the domains. Thus plebeianism incapacitated from enjoying the latter in simple possession." (*Niebuhr's Roman History*, vol. 1, p. 468. 1st ed. Walter's transl.) 60

3. *Victoriam.* The number of the commons, put to death on this occasion, was, according to Plutarch, not less than three thousand. Thus, in speaking of Opimius, he observes: Οὗτος μέντοι πρῶτος ἐξουσίᾳ δικτάτορος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενος, καὶ κατακρίνας ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ τρισχιλίοις πολίταις Γάϊον Γράκχον καὶ Φούλβιον Φλάκκον, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἦν ὑπατικὸς καὶ θριαμβικός, ὁ δὲ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν ἡλικίας ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ πεπρωτευκώς. (*Plut. vit. C. Gracch.* c. 18.—*ed. Hutten.* vol. 5, p. 249.)

4. *Adcuratissume,* "with the most studied respect."

5. *Fama, fide,* &c. A variety of opinion exists with respect to this passage. By some, *fama* and *fide* are regarded as old forms for the dative, while others view them as ablatives used for datives, by an imitation of early Latinity. We are inclined to adopt this latter opinion, in favour of which the following examples of a similar imitation may be cited from Cicero and Tacitus. "*Cum magna pars in iis civitatibus foederis sui libertatem* civitate *anteferrent*. (Cic. pro Balb. 8.) "*Tranquillitates* majore impedimento *fuerunt quam custodiae*." (Cic. ep. ad Att. 10. ult.) "*Is finis fuit ulciscenda Germanici morte*." (Tacit. Ann. 3. 19.) With these may be compared the

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60 form of inscription cited by Ernesti, (*ad Tacit.* l. c.) "*Triumviri auro, argento, aere, flando, feriundo* :" and a passage of Vopiscus, (Numerian. 14.) "*Curiosum non puto, neque satis vulgare fabellam de Diocletiano Augusto ponere* hoc *convenientem* loco." Should the student, however, find himself disposed, notwithstanding these authorities, to favour the opinion which makes *fama* and *fide*, in the passage under consideration, old forms of the dative, he may find in what follows some plausible arguments for such a supposition. *Fama* may be shortened from the old *famaï*, and *fide* from the longer and more usual form *fidei*. It has been asserted, it is true, that the termination —*aï* for the dative singular of the first declension, is rarely or rather never met with. This remark is based in a great measure, we believe, on the authority of Nigidius Figulus, as cited by Aulus Gellius, (13. 25.) by which the termination —*aï* is rejected from the dative, and confined to the genitive singular. In opposition to this, we may produce the express language of Quintilian, (1. 7. 16.) "*Ai syllabam, cujus secundam nunc E literam ponimus, varie per A et I efferebant, quidam semper ut Graeci: quidam singulariter tantum, cum in dativum vel genitivum casum incidissent*," &c. With this may be compared the note of Spalding, (*ad Quint. l. c.*) in which it is shown that Velius Longus (*p. 2222, ed. Putsch.*) and Marius Victorinus, (p. 2460.) acknowledge in this respect, no difference between the genitive and dative. We have, it is true, no forms of the dative in —*aï* occurring in our present editions of the classics; but this we owe to the ignorance of copyists and, it may be added, the timidity of editors. Planck, however, has introduced this form of the dative into the Medea of Ennius, (*terraï*, p. 80.) In ancient inscriptions nothing is of more frequent occurrence. Compare Gruter, 2. 12. and Index, p. 84. This of itself would furnish a strong argument in favour of such an ending for the dative singular. With regard to *fide*, the case is much clearer. The dative singular of the fifth declension, which commonly has the long form in *eï*, takes not unfrequently the shorter one in *e* ; and even the genitive singular sometimes does the same. Compare *Priscian.*

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vol. 1, p. 354. ed. Krehl. and *Struve, ueber die Leteinische Declination und Conjugation*, p. 8 and 38. 60

6. *Mauretaniam.* Mauretania, now *Fez* and *Marocco*, was bounded on the north by the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean; on the east by Numidia; on the south by Gaetulia; and on the west by the Atlantic. In the time of Bocchus, the ally and betrayer of Jugurtha, it was bounded by the river Mulucha or Molochath, now *Mulvia*, and corresponded nearly to the present kingdom of Fez; but, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, the western part of Numidia, which had been given to Bocchus as a reward for his treachery, was added to this province, under the name of Mauretania Caesariensis; the ancient kingdom of Mauretania being called Mauretania Tingitana, from the principal city Tingis, now Old Tangier, on the west of the straits.

7. *Minus frequentata sunt*, "are less inhabited." Compare Suetonius, *Aug.* 46. "*Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero deductarum ab se frequentavit.*"

8. *De is haud facile*, &c., "respecting these I cannot easily speak with any degree of certainty."

9. *In partem tertiam*, &c., "have reckoned Africa as a third part." Some editions have *in parte tertia;* but the reading in the text may be easily defended, either on the ground of its being an imitation of earlier Latinity, (Compare *Zumpt, L. G.* p. 268. *Kenrick's transl.* 2d ed.) or, what is far preferable, on account of motion being virtually implied by the clause. Thus, the passage may be literally rendered: "have set down Africa *for* a third part."

10. *Pauci tantummodo*, &c. Understand *voluerunt.* Varro is one of those who make but two divisions of the ancient world. His words are as follows: "*Ut omnis natura in coelum et terram divisa est, sic coelum in regiones, terra in Asiam et Europam.*" (*Varro, de L. L.* 4.)

11. *Fretum nostri maris et oceani*, "the strait connecting our sea with the ocean." By *fretum* is meant the *fretum Gaditanum* or *Herculeum*, "the straits of Gibraltar." Calpe (*Gibraltar*) and Abila (*Ceuta*) were regarded by the ancients as the limits of the Mediterranean and Atlantic in this quarter.

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60 Hence the cape which lies to the west, (Ampelusia sive Cotes promontorium, now *Cape Spartel,*) was known even to Herodotus as the limit of Libya (Africa) to the west. By the Carthaginians it was considered as lying within the controul of the deity who ruled over the ocean; and to this god, therefore, Hanno erected an altar in its vicinity, in order to propitiate his favour for the intended periplus. Compare Hanno's voyage, as given by Gosselin, and also *Ritter's Erdkunde, oder allgem. vergleich. Geog.* p. 889.

12. *Declivem latitudinem,* "a wide sloping valley." The term Catabathmos is Greek, (Καταβαθμὸς) and signifies "a descent." The word is here applied to a tract of land sloping towards Egypt, and remarkable, in Sallust and some other ancient authors, as forming the separation between Asia and Africa. This place is also taken for a boundary of Marmarica, ascribing to Cyrenaica what immediately succeeds, according to the extent which the princes who reigned at Cyrene might have given to their dominion. Compare Pliny, (*H. N.* 5. 5.) "*Finis Cyrenaicus Catabathmus oppidum et vallis repente convexa;*" and Pomponius Mela, 1. 8. "*Catabathmus, vallis devexa in Aegyptum, finit Africam.*" The Arabians call it at the present day *Akabet-ossolom.* This Catabathmus is generally denominated *Magnus* (Μέγας) to distinguish it from another Catabathmus, nearer Egypt, and south-east of Paraetonium, called *Parvus* (Μικρὸς.)

13. *Mare saevum, importunum.* "The adjacent sea is boisterous, unprovided with harbours."

14. *Coelo, terra,* &c., "from the skies, from the earth, a scarcity of water;" i. e. rain seldom falls, and the rivers and springs are few in number.

15. *Bestiis.* Some editions have *a bestiis.*

16. *Malefici generis,* "of a hurtful kind."

61 1. *Quamquam ab ea fama,* &c., "although it is different from that opinion which prevails among most; still, as it has been explained to us out of the Punic volumes, which were said to have belonged to King Hiempsal, and as the inhabitants of that land deem the fact to be, I will relate in as brief a manner as possible. The truth of the narrative, however,

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shall rest with the authors of it." The authors of the Universal History suppose that these books, preserved in the archives of king Hiempsal previous to his death, were Phoenician and Punic volumes, carried off from Carthage by Scipio, after its destruction, and presented by him to Micipsa; and they give a curious account of such works, of which some memory still subsists, and which they conjecture to have formed a part of the royal collection of Numidia. (Compare *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 2, p. 155, Lond. ed.) Whatever these books may have been, however, it does not appear to us that the information derived from them by Sallust was of the most accurate character, although it was far from being without value. The part most liable to objection is that which relates to the army of Hercules and its dispersion after his death. Hercules, in the mythology of the ancient nations, was only a type of the sun, and his twelve labours refer to the twelve signs of the zodiac. All the accounts of Hercules as the leader of armies appear to be perfectly fabulous. 61

2. *Gaetuli.* Gaetulia was an extensive country of Africa, lying to the south of Mauretania and Numidia. It is thought to correspond in some degree with the modern *Beledelgerid.* Isidorus (9) gives a curious account of the origin of the Gaetuli. "*Gaetuli Getae dicuntur fuisse, qui ingenti agmine a locis suis navibus conscendentes loca Syrtium in Libya occupaverunt; et, quia ex Getis venerant, derivato nomine Gaetuli cognominati sunt.*" This statement is very properly refuted by Des Brosses; but he himself assigns an etymology just as uncertain, namely, from the Phoenician term *geth*, "a flock," on the supposition that the Gaetuli were a shepherd-race.

3. *Libyes.* The Greek writers commonly mean by the Libyans the natives of Africa in general, a custom which the Roman poets frequently imitate. Strictly speaking, however, Libya was comprised in what succeeded to Aegypt on the west, as far as the greater Syrtis. It corresponds in some degree to *Barca*, part of *Tripoli*, and the desert of *Zahara*.

4. *Hi neque moribus*, &c. "These were neither governed by customs, nor by laws, nor by the authority of any individual."

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61 5. *Qua.* Some editions have *quas*, referring to *sedes.*

6. *Hercules.* Compare note 1, page 61, near the close.

7. *Quique.* The ablative: the same with *quoque. Qui* is in fact the true ablative of *quis*, just as *miti* is from *mitis:* and the true nominative plural of *quis* is the obsolete *ques*, whence *quibus* is properly deduced. *Quo* is the regular ablative of *qui;* and *queis* the regular form of the dative and ablative from the nominative plural *qui*, as *domini* from *dominis.* These forms, however, became subsequently all intermingled.—Some editions of Sallust have *quisque* in place of *quique* in the passage to which this note refers.

8. *Medi.* Media was bounded on the west by Assyria; on the south by Susiana and Persis; on the east by Aria; and on the north by Parthiene and Hyrcania. It is now called *Irak-Ajami* or Persian Irak, to distinguish it from *Irak-Arabi* or Babylonian Irak.

9. *Persae.* Persia was bounded on the south by the Persian gulf; on the west by the Tigris and Babylonia; on the north by Media and Assyria; and on the east by Carmania. It is called in Scripture Paras, and preserves that name in its modern appellation of *Fars.*

10. *Armenii.* Armenia was divided into Major and Minor. Armenia Minor was originally a part of Cappadocia, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, which separated it from Armenia Major. This latter country, the true Armenia, was bounded on the south by Mesopotamia and Assyria; on the west by the Euphrates, and a ridge of Anti-Taurus, separating it from Pontus; on the north by Colchis and Iberia; and on the east by the barbarous nations north of Media.

11. *Intra oceanum magis.* "More upon the ocean;" i. e. on the coast of Africa, without the straits of Gibraltar, where the land bending outward, the Atlantic seems to embrace and enfold the country in its arms. Hence the literal meaning of the text is "more within the ocean." Burnouf, however, maintains that this mode of interpretation is decidedly erroneous, and that *intra oceanum* means here "*citra oceanum*, id *est, orientem versus, in locis ab oceano, seu Atlantico mari, lon-*

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*gius remotis.*" Few, we conceive, will agree with him in this opinion. 61

12. *Miscuere.* Understand *secum,* which in some editions is expressed.

13. *Tentantes agros,* "in trying the pasturage."

14. *Numidas.* Little, if any, reliance can be placed on this account. If the name really denotes a pastoral people, and be derived from νόμη, (pasture,) as some imagine, it must have been given them by the Greeks, among whom the term νομάδες was applied to pastoral nations in general. Le Clerc (*ad Genes,* 10. 6.) derives the term *Numidae* from the Phoenician *Nemoudim,* "wanderers."

15. *Sub sole magis,* "more under the sun;" i. e. nearer the equator.

16. *Ab ardoribus,* "from the heats of the torrid zone."

17. *Hique.* Referring to the Medes and Armenians united with the Libyans.

18. *Freto,* "merely by a strait." Understand *tantum.*

1. *Ac postea nomine Numidae,* &c., "and having, in conse- 62
quence of an overflowing population, removed from the parent state, they subsequently, under their new name of Numidians, took possession of those regions which," &c. With regard to the Latinity of *appellatur,* compare note 9, page 39. Conspiracy of Catiline.

2. *Libyes.* The meaning is, that the Numidians, when they removed to the Mediterranean, acquired glory by the conquest of the Libyans, who were less warlike than the Gaetulians.

3. *Inferior,* "nearer the sea;" i. e. the Mediterranean.

4. *Concessere,* "merged."

5. *Hipponem.* Hippo, now *Bona,* was a town of Numidia, originally the capital of that country, which accounts for its being called by the Romans, *Hippo Regius.* It was the birthplace of St. Augustine.

6. *Hadrumetum.* Now *Mahometta.* The capital of Byzacium, a district of Africa Propria, or *Tunis.*

7. *Leptim.* There were two cities in Africa of the name of Leptis. The greater. called Leptis Major, now *Lebida,* was si-

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62 tuate between the two Syrtes; the lesser, called Leptis Minor, now *Lempta*, lay between the smaller Syrtis and Carthage. The latter is here spoken of.

8. *Carthagine* Compare note 20, page 6. Conspiracy of Catiline.

9. *Ad Catabathmon.* "Towards Catabathmos;" i. e. in the direction of that tract.

10. *Secundo mari*, "along the sea-coast."

11. *Cyrene.* Cyrene, now *Curin*, was the capital of Cyrenaica, a district bounded on the west by the Syrtis Minor; on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by Marmarica; and on the south by the deserts of Libya. The capital stood a little inland, and had Apollonia, now *Marza Susa*, for its port. It was founded by Battus, son of the nymph Cyrene, who led thither a Lacedaemonian colony from Thera, one of the Cyclades, B. C. 630, and the kingdom was bequeathed to the Romans by Ptolemy Apion: it was formed by them into a province with Crete. Cyrenaica was called Pentapolis, from its containing, inclusive of the capital, five cities.

12. *Thereon.* The Greek genitive plural (Θηραιῶν) Latinized, and put here for the more common Latin form *Theraeorum*. The Thereans were the natives of Thera, an island in the Aegean sea, to the north of Crete. It is now called *Santorin*, and forms one of the cluster of islands denominated *Sporades*. According to Pliny, it rose from sea in the 4th year of the 135th Olympiad, (B. C. 237.) and was first called Calliste, (Καλλίστη,) from its beautiful appearance. Theras peopled it with a Grecian colony, and from him it received the name of Thera.

13. *Syrtes.* The Syrtes were two bays or gulfs on the coast of Africa, of which the one was called Syrtis Major, the other Syrtis Minor. The latter is now termed the gulf of *Cabes*, from the ancient city of Tacape, which stood at the head of it. It is about 45 geographical miles in breadth, and runs up into the continent about 75 miles. It is opposite to the islands of Sicily and Malta, and was reckoned the more dangerous of the two. This gulf is still an object of apprehension to mariners, in consequence of the variations and uncer-

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tainties of the tides on a flat and shelvy coast. The Syrtis 62
Major is about 180 geographical miles between the two capes, and penetrates 100 miles into the land. The natives call it *Syrte-al-Kibber*, i. e. the Great Syrtis, and sailors, *Sydra* or *Seedra*. The name Syrtis is generally derived from the Greek σύρω, "to drag," in allusion to the agitation of the sand by the force of the tides. (Compare Sallust, *Jugurth.* c. 78.) It is more than probable, however, that the appellation is to be deduced from the term *Sert*, which still exists in Arabic as the name for a desert tract or region: for the term Syrtis does not appear to have been confined to the mere gulfs themselves, but to have been extended also to the desert country adjacent, which is still at the present day called *Sert*. Compare *Ritter*, *allgem. vergleichende Geogr*. vol. 1, p. 929.

14. *Leptis*. The reference is here to *Leptis Major*. Compare note 7, page 62.

15. *Philenôn*. The Greek genitive plural (Φιλαίνων) Latinised. The common Latin form is *Philenorum*. An account of the Phileni and the circumstances of their death is given in the 79th chapter of the present history.

16. *Quem*. Understand *locum*.

17. *Post aliae*, &c., "after this, other Carthaginian cities." *Punicus* and *Poenus* are from Φοῖνιξ, (whence the Greek name *Phoenicia*, "country of palms," the parent-land of the Carthaginians.) This is analogous to the Doric usage of π for φ. Compare *Matthiae G. G.* vol. 1, p. 35. Blomfield's transl.

18. *Super Numidiam*, "to the south of Numidia;" i. e. *above* Numidia in an inland direction.

19. *Aethiopas*. The Aethiopes, according to our historian, would seem to have occupied the central parts of Africa from east to west.

20. *Ex Punicis oppida*. The more usual form would be *ex Punicis oppidis*.

21. *Novissume*, "very lately;" i. e. since the fall of Carthage.

22. *Numidia*. Some editions have *Numidae*.

23. *Mulucha*. The ancient boundary of Mauretania; called

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62 also the Molochath, and now the *Mulviah*. Compare note 5, page 60.

24. *Cetera*, "in other respects."

63 1. *Praemia sceleris*, "the fruits of his wickedness;" i. e. the half of Numidia, in place of the third part.

2. *Animum intendit*, "directs his views."

3. *Quem petebat*, "at whom he aimed;" or "whom he was preparing to attack."

4. *Opportunus injuriae*, "a fit subject of injustice;" i. e. one on whom injuries might be committed without danger.

5. *Dolore permotum*, "stung with indignation."

6. *Sumere*, "to engage in," or "undertake."

7. *Quia tentatum antea*, &c., "because, when tried on a former occasion, it had eventuated otherwise than he had anticipated;" i. e. it had not succeeded according to his expectations: (*cesserat secus ac speraverat.*)

8. *Animo jam invaserat*, "he had already grasped in thought."

9. *Cirtam.* Cirta, now *Constantina*, a city of Numidia, on the river Ampsagas, at a considerable distance from the coast. It appears to have been originally the only important city of the more inland parts of Numidia, and hence probably its name, from the Punic *Kartha*, "a city." It was the royal residence of the kings of Numidia, of whom Micipsa, according to Strabo, did the most to enlarge and improve it. Compare the words of the geographer. Κίρτα δέ ἐστι ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τὸ Μασσανάσσου καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς διαδόχων βασίλειον, πόλις εὐερκεστάτη, κατεσκευασμένη καλῶς τοῖς πᾶσι. Καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Μικίψα, ὅστις καὶ Ἕλληνας συνῴκισεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἐποίησεν, ὥς ἐκπέμπειν μυρίους ἱππέας, διπλασίους δὲ πέζους. (*Strab.* 17. vol. 6, p. 669. *ed. Tzsch.*) It was afterwards called *Sittianorum Colonia*, from P. Sittius Nucerinus, who greatly assisted Caesar in the African war, and was rewarded for his services with the city and district. Compare note 4, page 14. Conspiracy of Catiline.

10. *Die.* An old form for the genitive singular, instead of *diei.* Compare Priscian, (7. 19—vol. 1, p. 354. ed. Krehl.) "*Veteres frequentissime inveniuntur similem ablativo protulisse*

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*in hac declinatione* (*scil.* quinta) *tam genitivum quam dativum.* 63
*Sallustius, in Historiarum primo:* Dubitavit acie pars, *pro* aciei. *Et Virgilius in I Georgicôn:* Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas; die *pro* diei. *Ovidius quoque in III Metamorphoseôn* fide *pro* fidei *posuit:* Prima fide vocisque ratae temptamina sumpsit. *Idem in sexto:* Utque fide pignus dextras utriusque poposcit."

1. *Obscuro etiam tum lumine,* "the light of day being still as yet obscure;" i. e. before it was quite light. 64

2. *Partim,* "some."

3. *Togatorum.* The Romans, from their use of the *toga,* were called *Togati* or *Gens Togata;* and the Greeks, from their wearing the *pallium,* were denominated by the Romans *Palliati* or *Gens Palliata.* So also the Gauls were styled *Gens Braccata,* from the *braccae* worn by the natives. "*Breac* is the Celtic word for a stripe, and therefore we need not doubt," observes Dr. Butler, (*Geogr. Class.*) "but that these breeches, or rather kelts, were made of striped materials. Hence also we learn that the appellation *virgati,* applied to the Dahae by Virgil, has reference to their striped garments. Traces of this early apparel may be observed in the Scotch plaid. The highlanders of Scotland are a Gaelic, that is, a Celtic, race."

4. *Vineis.* The *vineae* were machines in the form of sheds or mantlets, constructed of wood and hurdles, and covered with earth or raw hides, or any materials which could not easily be set on fire. They were pushed forward by wheels below. Under them the besiegers either worked the ram, or tried to undermine the walls. The term *vinea* is properly an adjective, having *porticus* understood, and signifying originally an arbour in a vineyard. The name was applied to the military machine just described, from its general resemblance to a vine-arbour. That the term *porticus* is really understood, is apparent from a passage of Caesar, (*Bell. Civ.* 2. 2.) where *porticus* is used in place of *vinea.* "*Itaque, pedalibus lignis conjunctis inter se, porticus integebantur.*"——*turribusque.* The *turres,* or towers, were of two kinds: fixed and moveable. The fixed towers were raised on the *agger,* or mount, and consisted of different stories, from which showers of darts and

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64 stones were discharged on the townsmen by means of engines called *Catapultae, Balistae*, and *Scorpiones*. The moveable towers were pushed forwards and brought back on wheels fixed below on the inside of the planks. To prevent them from being set on fire by the enemy, the towers both fixed and moveable, but more particularly the latter, were covered with raw hides and pieces of coarse cloth and mattresses.

5. *Velle et censere*, "that it was their wish and determination." The formal language used on such occasions. *Velle*, "to will a measure," properly applies to the people, and *censere*, "to determine after mature deliberation," to the senate.

6. *Seque*. *Se* refers here to the Roman senate and people: *illis*, to the princes.

7. *Clemens*, "a mild one;" i. e. diminishing or softening the atrocity of the act.

8. *Oratione*, "their embassy."

9. *Ob easdem artis*, "from the exercise of the same qualities."

10. *Pro bono*, "for their own interests."

11. *Sese*. Referring to Jugurtha. In strict Latinity, if a second subject be introduced, *se* refers strictly to that subject, and *is* should be used of the first. But *se* often continues, if no ambiguity is produced, to be used of the original subject, especially if the second proposition expresses a thought or purpose of the subject of the first. Thus, "*Dionysius instituit, ut filiae sibi barbam adurerent.*" So also, "*Herculi Eurystheus imperavit, ut arma reginae Amazonum sibi afferet.*"

12. *Decessisse*, "had left." The strict distinction between *decedo* and *discedo*, which, however, is seldom observed, appears to be this: *discedo* signifies to make room for another; to retire merely to a short distance; but *decedo*, to leave the place entirely; to depart; and, generally speaking, in different directions.

65 1. *Vallo*, "with a rampart." In besieging a place, the Roman mode, which Jugurtha here imitates, was to draw lines composed of a rampart and ditch, strengthened with a parapet and battlements, *(lorica et pinnae,)* and sometimes a solid wall

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of considerable height and thickness, flanked with towers and 65
forts at proper distances round the whole.

2. *Turris.* Fixed towers are here meant. Compare preceding note, and also note 4, p. 64.

3. *Defensoribus moenium,* &c. "To the defenders of the ramparts he at one time displayed rewards, at another what was calculated to act upon their fears."

4. *In animo habeat,* "cares for;" i. e. allows to occupy his thoughts.

5. *Quam.* *Malit* being equivalent to *magis velit,* supersedes the necessity of inserting *magis* before *quam.*

6. *Urguear.* An archaism for *urgear.*

7. *Plura de Jugurtha,* &c. "My wretched condition dissuades me from writing more respecting Jugurtha."

8. *Nisi tamen intelligo,* &c. Cortius explains this phrase as follows: Si *mihi* non *creditis, tamen intelligo,* &c. i. e. "even, however, though credence be denied me, yet still am I well aware," &c. This seems to us to wear a forced and unnatural appearance. It is certainly preferable to give *nisi* in this passage the force of *praeterquam.* (Compare *Tursellinus, de part. Lat. s. v.*) Adherbal has just declared that his wretched condition dissuades him from writing more respecting Jugurtha. He then assigns his reason for making such a remark: "*etiam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse.*" Now, if this last clause be taken parenthetically, *nisi* will serve to correct the assertion made in the words *plura de Jugurtha,* &c., and the meaning will be: "Only this, however, I *will add,* that I am well aware he aims at a higher object than myself." The intention of Adherbal is to excite the suspicions of the Romans against Jugurtha.

9. *Gravius,* "the more important."

10. *Quae sane fuerint,* &c. *Quae* is here elegantly used in the sense of *haec.* "These I allow may have been our own private wrongs; they may have been of no concern to you." It may not be amiss to mention here some instances of the initial force of *quae,* from Cicero, Caesar, and Livy. "*Quod quoniam tibi exposui,*" (Cic. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.) "Since I have explained this to you."—*Quae cum essent incerta,* (Cic. Ep. Fam.

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65 2. 19.) "Since these things were uncertain."—*Quibus rebus inductus Caesar statuit,* (B. G. 1. 11.) "Caesar, induced by these circumstances, determined."—*Quod ubi Caesar resciit,* (B. G. 1. 28.) "When Caesar came to the knowledge of this."—*Quae res accendit militi animos,* (Liv. 44. 4.) "This circumstance kindled the spirit of the soldiery." This construction, as also the analogous usage of the relative for *et is* or *et ille*, takes place when no particular stress is to be laid on the relative clause.

11. *Obsidet.* Some editions have *tenet atque obsidet.* But *tenet* already precedes.

66 1. *Ut Jugurthae scelerum,* &c., "that I might be a proof of the wickedness of Jugurtha." Equivalent to, *ut in me Jugurtha ostenderet scelera sua.*

2. *Tantummodo inimici imperium,* &c. "I only pray to be saved from the power of an inveterate foe, and from bodily tortures."

3. *Per amicitiae fidem,* "by the regard which is due to friend ship," or, "by the ties of friendship."

4. *Avi.* Before *avi* some editions insert *remanet.*

5. *Enisum.* Taken in a passive sense; "every effort was made by the partisans of the king."

6. *Decretum.* In some editions *tale decretum.*

7. *Honoribus.* Some editions have *honoribus usi.*

8. *Princeps.* He whose name was first entered in the censor's books, was called *princeps Senatus,* which title used to be given to the person who, of those alive, had been censor first; but after A. U. C. 544, to him whom the censors thought most worthy. This dignity, although it conferred no command or emolument, was esteemed the very highest, and was usually retained for life. It was called *principatus:* hence afterwards the emperor was named *princeps,* which word properly denotes only rank and not power.

9. *In invidia,* "connected with public odium."

10. *Escendere.* An archaism for *ascendere.*

11. *Uticam.* Utica was an ancient and celebrated city of Africa Propria, near the mouth of the river Bagradas, (now the *Mejerdah.*) It was founded by a colony of Phoenicians,

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286 years before Carthage, according to Aristotle, and was dis- 66
tant from that city, according to Appian, sixty stadia. Bochart makes the name of Utica contain an allusion to the antiquity of the place, deriving it from the Phoenician *Ityca*, "ancient." We should have strong doubts respecting the correctness of his etymology. In greatness and magnificence, Utica was next to Carthage; and, after the destruction of that city, was made the capital of the Roman province. It was famous for the death of M. Porcius Cato, who put an end to his life there after the battle of Thapsus.

12. *Vicit tamen in avido ingenio*, &c. "Evil suggestions, however, gained the ascendancy in his ambitious soul."

1. *Potiora*, "more worthy of reliance." 67

2. *Excruciatum necat.* The participle is often, with peculiar elegance, put under the goverment of the verb in the succeeding clause: thus, in the present instance, "having cruelly tortured, puts to death." *Postquam excruciaverat necat*, would have been far inferior. So also *Regulum captum Carthaginem miserunt.* "Having taken Regulus prisoner, they sent him to Carthage." Here *Regulum* is the regimen of *miserunt.* There are not wanting examples, it is true, to justify another phraseology, namely, *Regulo capto, eum Carthaginem miserunt.* This latter form of expression, however, is much less precise; for it does not so clearly signify, that the person taken was also the person sent. The pronoun *eum* might refer to some other person. Thus, *Liv.* 2 22. *Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere.* "Having seized the Volsci, they carried them to Rome." Here there is much more precision of expression than if he had said, *Volscis comprehensis, eos Romam duxere.* Crombie's Gymnasium, vol. 1, p. 60. 3d ed.

3. *Puberes.* Some editions omit the comma after this word, which makes a very inferior reading.

4. *Tribunus plebis.* Compare note 5, page 23. Conspiracy of Catiline. C. Memmius of whom mention is made in the text, subsequently stood candidate for the consulship, and was slain in the very comitia by Saturninus, a tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 654, in the sixth consulship of C. Marius. Compare Livy, *Epit.* 69. "*Idem Appuleius Saturninus tribunus*

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67 *plebis C. Memmium candidatum consulatus, quem maxime adversarium actionibus suis timebat, occidit: quibus rebus concitato senatu oppressus armis cum Glaucia praetore, et aliis ejusdem furoris sociis, bello quodam interfectus est.*" Where we should read, no doubt, with Gronovius, *a servo* instead of *bello*.

5. *Vir acer*, "a spirited individual."

6. *Id agi*. "That it was in contemplation."

7. *Profecto*, &c., "beyond a doubt, all the odium connected with the affair would have died gradually away, in consequence of the frequent postponements of their deliberations." In the consequent member of a conditional proposition, the past tenses are frequently put in the indicative, to give more liveliness to the representation, although in the conditional clause, the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive has been used. Thus, in the present instance, *dilapsa erat* is used in the consequent member of the sentence, although the conditional clause contains *edocuisset*, which in strictness would require *dilapsa foret* or *fuisset*. Compare also the following examples of similar construction. "*Pons Sublicius iter paene hostibus* dedit, *ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles.*" Liv. "*Populus effigies Pisonis* divellebant *ni jussu principis protectae forent.*" Tacit. "*Quem tibi hoc daturum putas? si enim ita esset, quid opus* erat *te gradatim istuc pervenire?*" Cic. "*Si non alium longe jactaret odorem, Laurus* erat." Virg. Zumpt. L. G. p. 327. Kenrick's transl.

8. *Lege Sempronia*. Originally their provinces used to be decreed to the consuls by the senate after the election, or when they had entered on their office. But by the Sempronian law, proposed by C. Sempronius Gracchus, and passed A. U. C. 631, the senate were required to decree two provinces to the future consuls before their election.——*P. Scipio Nasica*, the great grandson of that Scipio Nasica who was pronounced by the senate "the most virtuous of the Romans," (*vir optimus*,) and the son of that Nasica who headed the party of the nobility in the affray in which Tiberius Gracchus was slain. The date of his consulship with Bestia was A. U. C. 643. He died before the expiration of his office. Compare Cicero, *Brut*. 34.——*L. Bestia Calpurnius*. The Calpurnian

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house claimed as its founder, Calpus, the third son of king 67
Numa. Compare Plutarch, *Vit. Num.* 21.—ed. Hutten, vol. 1, p. 182. ἀπὸ δὲ Κάλπου τοὺς Καλπουρνίους. The individual mentioned in our text espoused the party of the nobility in the contest with the Gracchi, and on that account stood high in the favour of the senate. He was subsequently accused under the Mamilian law, (compare *chap.* 40 of this narrative,) for having received a bribe from Jugurtha, and was condemned. (*Cic. Brut.* 34.) According to the President De Brosses, the Bestia who conspired with Catiline was his grandson.

9. *Obvenit,* "fell by lot." The consuls arranged their provinces by lot or agreement.

10. *Scribitur,* "is levied." The names of the soldiers enlisted were written down on tables, hence *scribere* "to enlist," "to levy or raise."

1. *Venum ire.* In some editions *venire.* From a compari- 68
son of various authorities it would appear that *veneo (venum eo)* was used as the passive of *vendo,* retaining from the latter merely *venditus, vendendus,* and occasionally *venditur.* The subject is ably discussed by Struve, *Ueber die Lateinische Declination und Conjugation,* p. 84. seqq.

2. *Qui postquam,* &c. "When these were drawing nigh to Rome."

3. *Recipi moenibus.* Foreign ambassadors, whom the Roman senate did not choose to receive within the walls of the city, had an audience given them in the temple of Bellona or of Apollo, without the walls, or in the *villa publica,* a building erected in the Campus Martius, where they were also entertained during their stay.

4. *Consul Numidis,* &c. "The consul orders information of the decree of the senate to be given to the Numidians."

5. *Legat,* "selects for his lieutenants."

6. *Munita,* "screened from punishment."

7. *Rhegium.* A city nearly in the southern extremity of Italy, now *Rhegio,* founded by a colony from Chalcis, under Antimnestus, according to Strabo, (vol. 2, p. 227. ed. Tzsch.) Κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον Χαλκιδέων. κ. τ. λ. The name of this city is thought to point to the old tradition of Sicily having

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68 been separated or *broken off* from Italy by some convulsion of nature. (Ῥήγιον, from ῥήγνυμι.) Compare Strabo, (vol. 2, p. 229.) Ὠνομάσθη δὲ Ῥήγιον, εἴθ', ὥς φησιν Αἰσχύλος, διὰ τὸ συμβὰν πάθος τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ· ἀποῤῥαγῆναι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν, ἄλλοι τε, κἀκεῖνος εἴρηκεν,

Ἀφ'. οὗ δὴ Ῥήγιον κικλήσκεται.

8. *Siciliam.* Sicily, an island in the Mediterranean, to the south-west of Italy. It is of a triangular form, and in circumference about 415 miles. Its earlier name was Sicania, which it derived from the Sicani. These were afterwards driven to the western parts of the island by the Siculi, who crossed over from Italy and changed its name to Sicilia. It was also called Trinacria, from having τρεῖς ἄκραι, *three* celebrated *promontories:* Pelorum at the east, adjacent to Italy; Pachynum at the south; and Lilyboeum at the west. It was colonised by the Greeks and Carthaginians, and came into the possession of the Romans during the second Punic war.

9. *Animus aeger avaritia,* &c., "his spirit, corrupted by avarice, underwent an easy change."

10. *Ex factione,* "of his (Scaurus's) party."

11. *Tamen magnitudine pecuniae,* &c., "nevertheless, he was drawn away, by the greatness of the bribe which he had received, from the path of rectitude and honour into that of corruption."

12. *De omnibus pactionibus,* "concerning a general treaty." Literally, "concerning all the stipulations, or articles, of a treaty."

69 1. *Fidei causa,* "for the sake of inspiring Jugurtha with confidence."

2. *Vagam.* Vaga, sometimes, but improperly, written Vacca, was situate in Africa Propria, on the river Rubricatus, and was the most celebrated mart of the whole kingdom. Compare chapter 69. D'Anville and Barbiè du Bocage recognise traces of the ancient name in the modern *Vegja,* (or *Beja* or *Bay-ja,*) in the district of Tunis.

3. *Deditionis mora,* &c., "while the business of the surrender was pending, a truce prevailed."

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4. *Praesenti consilio*, "in presence of the council of war." 69
Gronovius successfully contends that *concilium* means an assembly of the people, or an assembly of deputies from several nations, or bodies of men; as *Boeoticum concilium; Achaicum concilium;* and that *consilium* means a meeting of counsellors, or chiefs. The *consilium* of the Roman generals, he says, were the lieutenants and the tribunes of the soldiers, (together with the chief centurion of the legion,) whom they used to summon for the purpose of consultation; and the *consilium* of the praetors were the judges, and the assessors or assistants. In this opinion Drakenborch concurs. Stephens agrees with Gronovius in defining *concilium* to be *conventus populi et multitudo populorum diversorum in unum locum consulendi gratia congregata:* and he observes that *concilium* properly means "a meeting of the commons only, summoned by the senators, and not of the whole Roman people." (Compare *Aul. Gell.* 15. 22.) Turnebus, whose opinion also seems to coincide with that of Gronovius, says, that *consilium* means frequently, a military council for assisting the general in deliberation. From these and other authorities, it would appear, that *consilium* denotes an assembly of chiefs, or leading men, for the purpose of deliberation; and that *concilium* signifies a promiscuous assembly, or one composed of the inferior orders. *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 131. 3d ed.

5. *Uti acciperetur*, "that he might be received;" or, if a zeugma be supposed to operate in *loculus*, "having requested to be received." This last appears more elegant.

6. *Quasi per saturam*, &c., "the opinions of the council being taken as it were in a hasty and confused manner." *Saturam* is merely an adjective, with *lancem* understood. The *lanx satura* literally signifies the dish or platter annually filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the gods as the first fruits of the season; and from this medley the term is figuratively used in our text to denote a confused and promiscuous collecting of the votes. Compare *Diomed.* 2, p. 483. "*Lanx satura, referta variis multisque primitiis in sacro apud priscos diis inferebatur.*" and the scholiast on Horace, (Serm. 1. 1.) "*Satura dicitur lancis genus, tractum a choro Liberi patris, qui est dator vini et laeti-*

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69 *tiae.*" Hence also the sanction usually annexed to Roman laws: "*Ne quis per saturam abrogato,*" which Festus explains as follows: "*per legem in qua conjunctim multis de rebus una rogatione populus consulebatur.*"

7. *Pro consilio,* "before the council." This signification of *pro* is derived immediately from that of the Greek preposition πρό.

8. *Ad magistratus rogandos,* "to hold an election for magistrates." The usual beginning of all applications to the people, was *Velitis, Jubeatis, Quirites;* and thus the people were said to be consulted or *asked, (consuli* sive *rogari,)* and the presiding magistrate, to consult or *ask* them, *(consulere* sive *rogare.)* Hence *rogare magistratus,* "to create magistrates," *rogare quaesitores,* "to appoint commissioners;" and hence also *rogatio,* "a bill," while the matter is still pending, but *lex,* "a law," when it has been favourably received by the people.

9. *Patres probarentne,* &c. Cortius places a comma after *patres,* which then becomes either the nominative absolute, or else the accusative governed by *quod ad* understood. The punctuation we have adopted is decidedly preferable. "It was uncertain whether the Senate would approve of so gross an abandonment of duty, or would annul the act of the consul."

10. *Memmii.* Some editions insert *Romae* before *Memmii.* ——*clara pollensque,* "distinguished and influential;" i. e. was of a high character itself, and exercised a strong influence on the minds of the people."

11. *Perscribere,* "to give entire."

12. *Ac potissimum,* &c. Understand *eam orationem.* The complete ellipsis will be as follows: "Ac potissimum *decere existimavi eam orationem perscribere,* quae," &c.——*Multa dehortantur a vobis,* &c. "Did not, Romans, my zeal for the public welfare overcome every other consideration, many things would dissuade me from espousing your cause: the resources, namely, of the opposite faction, your tame endurance of injury, the absence of all law, and, above all, because there is more danger than honour attendant upon innocence." The

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usage of *dehortantur* for *dehortarentur* will be found explained 69
in note 7, page 67.

1. *Ut vobis animus*, &c., "to what a degree your spirit has be- 70
come enfeebled by cowardice and by sloth." *Ignavia* properly denotes slowness and want of spirit in accomplishing what is already begun; *pigritia*, on the other hand, marks reluctance to begin any undertaking. Compare Noltenius, *Lex. Anti-Barb*. p. 982. "*Ignavia est tarditas in exsequendis negotiis: Pigritia in aggrediendis*."

2. *Obnoxiis inimicis.* "When your enemies are in your power," i. e. when, by the detection of their guilt, you may punish this haughty aristocracy as they deserve, and free yourselves from their tyranny.

3. *Secessione.* Compare note 12. page 20. Conspiracy of Catiline.

4. *Suomet more*, "in their own way;" i. e. by the natural consequences of their vices and crimes.

5. *Quaestiones habitae sunt*, "prosecutions were instituted."

6. *Utriusque cladis*, &c., "it was not any law, but their own arbitrary will, that put an end to each of these massacres."

7. *Sed sane fuerit*, &c. An ironical concession. "But let it then have been an aiming at supreme power, (on the part of the Gracchi,) to attempt the restoration of their rights to the people: let whatever cannot be avenged without shedding the blood of Roman citizens have been justly done." *Nequitur* in this passage is used in a passive sense. It occurs in the same sense in Lucretius, 1. 1055. and Plautus, *Rud*. 4. 4. 20. and *Fragm. Satyr. ad Fest*. s. v. *nequitum*. So also we have *nequitum est* in Pacuvius and Cato, *ap. Fest. l. c.* The simple verb *quitur* is likewise found: *Caecil. ap Diomed*. p. 380. together with *queuntur* in Accius, *ibid*. and *quita est* in Terence. *Hec*. 4. 1. 87. &c.

8. *Summam gloriam*, "the highest civil preferment." The highest offices in the state.

9. *Per ora vestra*, "before your very faces."

10. *Ostentantes* "displaying with insolent parade." The frequentative has here its full and appropriate force.

1. *Occidisse tribunos plebis.* This clause here supplies the 71

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71 place of a noun in the accusative: so *caedem in vos fecisse*, a little after.

2. *Pessume*. The adverbs *pessume* and *maxume* have here the force of comparatives. The comparative is often used for the superlative in Latin: the construction of the superlative for the comparative is much more rare. Compare *Scheller L. G.* vol. 2, p. 278. and *Matthiae G. G.* § 464, on the corresponding usage in Greek.

3. *Inter malos*, "among the bad, combination."

4. *Tam*. Some editions have *vos tam*. The whole clause may be rendered as follows: "But if you had as strong a regard for the preservation of your own freedom, as they are inflamed with the desire of tyrannizing over you."

5. *Beneficia vestra*, &c., "your favours would be enjoyed by the best, not by the boldest, of men." *Beneficia* relates to the offices in the gift of the people. The preposition *penes* is derived from *penus*, and is used to signify the absolute possession and power over a thing, as if it were laid-up at our disposal. *Penes te* is more than *apud te*; for *apud te* means what you may have in your keeping in any manner: whereas *penes te* is what is possessed by you in a particular manner, i. e. what is actually in your possession and under your controul. *Butler's Praxis on the Latin Prepositions*, p. 83.

6. *Parandi juris*, &c., "for the sake of obtaining their rights and establishing their dignity."

7. *Aventinum*. Compare note 12, page 20. The Aventine was the most extensive of all the hills on which Rome was built. It received its name from an Alban king who was buried on it, and was the spot which Remus chose to take the omens. On this last account it was generally accounted a place of evil omen; and therefore, according to Aulus Gellius, was not included within the *Pomaerium*; but other and better authorities make it to have been joined to the city by Ancus Marcius. Compare *Liv*. 1. 33. *Dion. Hal*. 3. 43.

8. *Quo*. Some editions have *quod*, but the present reading is preferable as contrasted with *eo* which precedes.

9. *Vindicandum in eos*, &c. Understand *censeo* before, and

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*esse* after, *vindicandum:* "My opinion is that punishment should be inflicted upon those," &c. 71

10. *Quod magis fecisse*, &c., "which would be more disgraceful for you to have done, than to have happened unto them."

1. *Casura esset.* Compare Conspiracy of Catiline, chap. 52. "*Ne, ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia in miseriam vertet.*" The phrase *in perniciem casura esset* may be rendered: "would end in your own ruin." 72

2. *Quantum importunitatis habent.* Complete the construction as follows: *pro tanta importunitate quantum importunitatis habent.* "Such is their overbearing insolence." Precisely analogous to this is the use of the relative in such phrases as the following: *Quae tua est virtus expugnabis*, "Such is your valour" &c.; i. e. *ea virtute, quae virtus tua est, expugnabis.* So *Cujus lenitatis est Galba promisit.* (Tac. Hist. 4. 37.) "Galba, with his usual lenity, promised."

3. *Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus*, &c. "Can there be peace or friendship between minds actuated by such opposite sentiments?"

4. *Peculatus aerarii*, "embezzlement of the public money." Compare Asconius (*in Act.* 1. *in Verr:*) "*Peculator* (est) *qui furtum facit pecuniae publicae.*"

5. *Id est regem esse.* The more usual form of expression would be *rex esse;* but we may suppose *eum* to be understood before *esse*. The term *rex* is here equivalent to "tyrant."

6. *Ad hoc, si injuriae non sint*, &c. The idea intended to be conveyed is this: If you punish the bad you deter from the commission of offences, and if offences be not committed you will seldom need the aid of the good for your protection, and will consequently be under no very strong obligation to bestow favours upon them for their services.

7. *Interposita fide publica* "the public faith being pledged for his personal safety."

1. *Romam.* Some editions have *eumque* expressed before *Romam*. It is more in accordance, however, with the style of Sallust to have it understood. 73

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73 2. *Vendere.* Some editions have *venderent*, and of course understand *qui* after *alii*.

3. *Pacatis.* Understand *regionibus*.

4. *Perlata rogatione a C. Memmio,* "the bill proposed by C. Memmius being carried through;" i. e. having become a law. Compare note 8. page 69 of this narrative.

5. *Ex conscientia,* "from a consciousness of guilt."

6. *Quo.* In the sense of *quoniam*, "since." Compare Cortius, *ad Cat.* 34.

7. *Contra decus regium,* "in a manner unbecoming a king."

8. *Cultu quam maxime miserabili,* "with an exterior the most calculated to excite compassion." So, among the Romans, an accused person (*reus*) was wont to change his dress, lay aside every kind of ornament, let his hair and beard grow, and go round in this state to solicit the favour of the people.

9. *Magna vis animi,* "great firmness of purpose."

10. *Contra jus et injurias omnis,* "against the arm of justice and all personal violence."

11. *Vincula,* "prison."

12. *Postremo confirmare,* &c. "finally, assured them that, as far as his exertions could effect it, the plighted faith of the republic should remain inviolate."

13. *Verba facit,* "he addresses him." Understand *Memmius*.

14. *Quibus juvantibus,* &c. "that although the Roman people are well aware by whose aid and by whose instrumentality he has acted."

15. *Vera.* In some editions *verum*.

74 1. *Terrebat eum,* &c., "sought to terrify him by their outcries, by their threatening gestures, oftentimes by their impetuous movements, and by all the other means which anger is accustomed to employ, still his bold and unblushing effrontery triumphed." A single tribune might in this way, by his *veto*, or intercession, thwart the proceedings of his colleagues and oppose an effectual barrier to the wishes of the people. Those who did so, however, might afterwards be brought to trial by their colleagues. Tiberius Gracchus, when his colleague Octavius opposed the passage of the Agrarian law, resorted to the desperate expedient of publicly deposing him by

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the suffrages of the people.—The phrase *Quae amat fieri* (literally, "which anger loves should be put in operation") is imitated from the Greek idiom φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. Quintilian (9. 3. 17.) in speaking of Sallust's frequent imitations of the Greek idiom, cites this very phrase. "*Ex Graeco vero translata vel Sallustii plurima, quale est, Vulgus* amat fieri." Compare Horace, *Carm.* 3. 16. 9. 74

> "*Aurum per medios ire satellites*
> *Et perrumpere amat saxa.*"——

The term *voltu*, in the passage of Sallust to which this note refers, alludes not merely to the countenance, but to the entire person, and is used perhaps in its earliest import to denote any mode of expressing our wishes and feelings, whether by look or by gesture.

2. *Jugurtham ob scelera*, &c., "and since public odium, together with private fear on his own part, pressed heavy upon Jugurtha."

3. *Belli gerundi*, "of carrying on some war." Of having some war to carry on in which he might signalize himself.

4. *Movere.* Some editions have *moveri*. The present construction, however, though a harsh one, is characteristic of the style of Sallust. *Movere* governs *omnia* understood, and *omnia* expressed is the accusative before *senescere*. "The consul rather wished to throw all things into agitation, than that all should begin to grow torpid in the arms of repose."

5. *Macedonia.* An extensive country to the north of Greece, having Epirus and Thessaly to the south and south-west. It was memorable as the native country of Philip and Alexander. Macedonia, as a Roman province, however, was more extensive than Macedonia proper, since it comprehended within its limits Thessaly and Illyricum, and reached consequently from sea to sea.

6. *Timor.* Some editions have *timor animi*.

7. *Maxume occulte*, "secretly, if possible." Compare chapter 46, of this narrative. "*Uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat,*" &c.

8 *Itinera egressusque*, &c., "ascertains his accustomed

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74 routs; his goings out; in fine, all his places of resort, and his entire mode of spending the day." *Egressus* refers to his occasional departures from the city, as well as to his walks within the same. We have endeavoured to express it by a literal, though, it must be confessed, inelegant, phrase.

9. *Paullo inconsultius,* "a little too rashly." With rather less precaution than he should have done. *Paulum, paulo, paululum, paululo,* before the comparative, lower the meaning; whereas *aliquanto* implies the difference to be considerable Thus *paulo doctior,* "but little more learned;" *aliquanto doctior* "a great deal more learned."

75 1. *Indicium profitetur,* "makes a full disclosure." Some render the phrase, "promises to make a disclosure;" this, how ever, is incorrect. Compare Tacitus, *Ann.* 6. 3. "*Summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.*"

2. *Fit reus,* &c. "Bomilcar, one of the retinue of him who had come to Rome on the public faith being pledged for his safety, is put to his trial, more in conformity with what was strictly just, and conducive to the public good, than in accordance with the law of nations." By the law of nations, the retinue, not only of ambassadors, but of all persons to whom the public faith had been pledged, were exempted from injury. Grotius (*De jure,* B. *et* P. 18. 8.) proves this to have been an early law among the Romans, from one of the old forms used by the *Feciales.*

3. *Animum advortit.* An archaism for *animadvertit.*

4. *In priore actione,* "in the first stage of the proceeding;" i. e. when first put to his trial; or when, to adopt our own phraseology, the case first came into court.

5. *Vades,* "as sureties." *Vas* and *praes* agree in being applicable to one who becomes bound for another, but differ in respect to the circumstances of the person for whom the obligation is incurred. *Vas* supposes the person for whom the security has been given, to have been guilty of a capital crime, or of some criminal offence generally. *Praes* denotes, on the other hand, the bail or surety given in a civil suit. *Praes* is derived from *praestare,* as the surety undertakes to perform what another may fail in. "*Praes est,*" says Varro, "*qui a magis-*

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*tratu interrogatur in publicum ut praestet; a quo, quum responderit, dicitur praes."* *De L. L.* 5. 7. *Hill's Synonyms*, p. 750. 4to ed. 75

6. *Profectus est.* In some editions *eodem profectus.*

7. *Urbem venalem*, &c. "Ah! venal city! and destined soon to fall, could it but find a purchaser!" The common mode of rendering this passage entirely destroys its beauty: "That the city was a venal one, and destined," &c. as if *urbem* were the accusative before *esse* understood. On the contrary, the whole is meant as an emphatic exclamation on the part of Jugurtha, accompanied with a corresponding gesture. Sallust here quotes apparently the very words of Jugurtha, for they are given by Livy, *Epit.* 64. in the same form, except that the interjection is prefixed: "*O urbem venalem,*" &c.—In relation, however, to the departure of Jugurtha, Livy differs essentially from Sallust, since he makes the king himself to have been put to trial for the murder of Massiva, and to have saved himself only by secretly escaping from the city. "*Jugurtha . . . . . propter caedem, admissam in regulum quemdam, nomine Massivam, qui regnum ejus populo Romano invisi affectabat, Romae interfectum, quum periclitaretur,* causam capitis dicere jussus, clam profugit, *et, cedens urbe, fertur dixisse:* O urbem venalem, et cito perituram, si emtorem invenerit!"

8. *Maturat.* In some editions *mature*, which will make *portare* the historical infinitive.

9. *Instanti.* scil. *Albino.*

10. *Ex tanta properantia,* "after so much haste;" viz. on the part of Albinus, in his preparations for, and during the earlier stages of, the campaign.

11. *Pro praetore,* "as acting commander-in-chief." Some editions have the compound form *propraetore.*

12. *Continuare magistratum,* "to continue their magistracy;" i. e. to continue themselves in office."

1. *Pecuniae capiundae,* "of extorting money." 76

2. *Suthul.* A town of Numidia, of which mention is made only here and in Priscian, (5. 2. vol. 1, p. 173. ed. Krehl.) The latter writer, however, gives no information whatever about its site, but merely comments on the form of the name.

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76 "*In* ul *quoque unum reperitur masculinum Latinum,* consul: *duo communia,* praesul, exul, *et barbara* Suthul, Muthul." Barbiè du Bocage suspects that this town is the same with that called Sufetala, (now *Sbaitla,*) in the *Itin. Antonini.* The name Suthul is said to signify "the town of eagles." Compare also note 7, page 54, of this narrative.

3. *Num circum murum,* &c., "for a plain rendered miry by the winter rains, had spread a marsh around the walls, which were situated at the foot of a craggy mountain;" i, e. the town itself was built on the higher parts of the mountain, while the main fortifications were erected below at the base. *Extremo* cannot by any possible mode be here made to signify the *top* of the mountain, or why should Aulus have raised a mound and erected *vineae?* Nor can the town itself be supposed to have been situated immediately behind the walls at the foot of the mountain; since, in that event, how could the craggy sides of the mountain prove any additional source of defence to the town erected at their base, and why would they be mentioned?

4. *Vineas.* Some editions read as follows: *Caecus, ob thesauros, oppidi potiundi, vineas,* &c. Burnouf states that this is the lection of all his manuscripts. We have omitted the words in question, with Cortius and others, as savouring of interpolation. "*Eamdem rem,*" observes Cortius, "*iisdem fere verbis supra memoraverat.*"

5. *Aggerem.* The *agger,* or mount, was raised from the inner line, and gradually advanced towards the besieged place, always increasing in height, till it equalled or overtopped the wall. It was composed of earth, stone, wood, and hurdles. The mount which Caesar raised against Avaricum (or *Bourges*) was 330 feet broad, and 80 feet high. The agger was secured by towers of different stories, from which the defenders of the ramparts were annoyed with missiles by the besiegers.

6. *Vanitate,* "the weakness."

7. *Subdolus augere amentiam,* "craftily strove to augment his foolish presumption."

8. *Insequeretur.* After this word, in some editions, an entire clause follows: *ita delicta occultiora fore.* We have adopt-

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ed the arrangement of Cortius, by which the clause in question is placed lower in the chapter, after *uti desererent.* Of the propriety of this collocation few can doubt. "*Mirum epiphonema in hoc loco,*" exclaims Cortius, "*nec imperitius pedagogus quispiam unquam scripsit. Cujus delicta ? Jugurthaene an Auli ? Cur* occultiora ; *aut quae omnino ? Mihi haec omnia turpissime transjecta videntur, et ab imperitis scribis, aut correctoribus huc potissimum adscita, quod aliquo modo cum abditis regionibus connectionem habere crederent.*" 76

9. *Tentabat,* "he tampered with."

10. *Turmarum.* A *turma* or troop of horse contained thirty men, and was divided into three *decuriae* or bodies of ten. Varro's etymology is rather forced : "turma *factum e* terma : *quod ter deni equites ex tribus tribubus fiebant.*"

11. *Instruit.* In some editions *instruxit.* The present tense imparts more animation to the sentence.

12. *Periculum anceps.* "On all sides danger."

13. *Ligurum,* "of Ligurians." Liguria extended from the Maritime Alps to the river Macra, which divided it from Italia Propria. It corresponded to the modern Piedmont, Genoa, and the eastern continuation of the Apennines. The Ligurians, or Ligyes, however, had spread themselves also, according to Scylax and other authorities, along the southern shores of Gaul, as far as the Pyrenees. Compare *Mannert, Geogr. der Gr. und Roemer,* vol. 9. p. 244.

14. *Thracum,* "of Thracians." Thrace lay to the east and north-east of Macedonia. It now forms a part of Turkey in Europe, and is commonly known by the name of *Roumelia* or *Romania,* though *Roumelia* in strictness is an appellation applied by the Turks to the whole of Greece. (*Roum-iili.*)

1. *Centurio primi pili,* "the chief centurion." Each Roman legion was divided into ten cohorts ; each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries. So that there were thirty maniples and sixty centuries in a legion. There were two centurions in each maniple, called by the same name, but distinguished by the title *prior,* "former," and *posterior,* "latter," because the one was chosen and ranked before the other. The centurion of the first century of the 77

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77 first maniple of the *Triarii*, was called *Centurio primi pili*, or *Primus Pilus*, or *Primopilus*, &c. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle *(aquila)* or chief standard of the legion; whereby he obtained both profit and dignity, being ranked among the *equites*, and having a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes of the soldiers. The centurion of the second century of the first maniple of the *Triarii* was called *Primipilus posterior*. So the two centurions of the second maniple of the *Triarii* were called *Prior centurio*, and *Posterior centurio*, *secundi pili*; and so on to the tenth, the two centurions of which were styled *Centurio decimi pili prior*, and *posterior*. In like manner, *Primus princeps prior*, and *posterior*; *Secundus princeps prior*, and *posterior*, in speaking of the *principes* or second rank; and *Primus hastatus*, &c., in reference to the *hastati* or first rank. Thus there was a large field for promotion in the Roman army: from a common soldier to a centurion; and from being the lowest centurion of the tenth maniple of the *hastati (decimus hastatus posterior)* to the rank of *Primipilus*.

2. *Quo minus victoria uterentur*, "from making a proper use of their victory."

3. *Sub jugum*. Two spears stuck in the ground and crossed by another at the top, like a gallows, were called *jugum*. Under this the vanquished army passed disarmed, by way of ignominy, and in token of subjection.

4. *Mutabant*. Some editions read *mutabant*, "they wavered," or "were irresolute." Cortius prefers *mutabant*, but thinks that the verb should be used in a passive signification; for which there is no necessity whatever, since *ea* may very well be understood with the active form, and the construction will be characteristic of the style of Sallust. The clause may therefore be rendered, "since they exchanged the fear of death for them." The meaning of the historian is this: the conditions proposed by Jugurtha were, it is true, "galling and most ignominious," *(gravia et flagitii plena;)* but, on the other hand, the fear of death overcame every consideration of duty and honour, and the Roman soldiery, therefore, were induced by this fear (*metu*, the instrument or means which effected the

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exchange, and consequently in the ablative,) to accept the proffered terms of surrender; (i. e. they caused these terms to come over from the individual who proposed them, and *take effect* upon themselves: *mutabant ea.*) 77

5. *Metus atque moeror.* "No prince," observes Mr. Dunlop, "except Mithridates, gave so much employment to the army of the Romans as Jugurtha. In the course of no war in which they had ever been engaged, not even the second Carthaginian, were the people more desponding, and in none were they more elated with ultimate success." *Dunlop's History of Roman Literature*, vol. 2, p. 152. *Lond. ed.*

6. *Quod armatus*, &c., "because, with arms in his hands, he had sought safety rather by a disgraceful surrender, than a valiant resistance."

7. *Ac deinde periculum*, "and consequent danger;" i. e. a public prosecution, for having entrusted the command of the army to one so totally unfit to take charge of it.

8. *Quamquam persequi*, &c., "although his bosom burned to pursue Jugurtha, and allay the odium to which his brother's misconduct had given rise."

9. *Soluto imperio*, "all discipline being relaxed." Not only the disgraceful retreat from Numidia, which was in truth an actual flight, but licentiousness also, and debauchery, the results of a relaxed and feeble discipline, had completely prostrated the martial spirit of the Roman soldiery.

10. *Ex copia rerum*, "considering all the circumstances of the case."

1. *Neglegisset.* An archaism for *neglexisset.* Aemilius Macer, as cited by Priscian, (10. 6.—vol. 1, p. 496. ed. Krehl.) and by Diomedes, (p. 366.) uses *neglegerit* by a similar archaism for *neglexerit.* Thus Priscian remarks: "Intelligo, intellexi: *quamvis Aemilius Macer, in sextodecimo Annalium:* 'Omnium nostrum neglegerit auctoritatem,' *pro* neglexerit *ait.*" 78

2. *Huic rogationi*, &c. The dative is to be connected in construction with *impedimenta parabant*, and not with *resistere*, which has *ei* understood.

3. *Quin illa et alia talia*, &c., "without, at the same time, confessing that these, and other misdemeanours of a similar

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78 nature, found favour in their eyes." Their opposing the passage of the bill openly would have been construed into an admission, on their part, that they themselves would have acted in the same way with the guilty, had they been placed in similar circumstances.

4. *Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit.* Some editions read merely *jusserit*, considering the other two verbs as pleonastic. This is far from being the case. The three verbs are purposely used by the historian to denote by their almost synonymous force the ardour of the people in *ordering, decreeing, willing* the passage of the bill. The absence of the copulative too, imparts additional vigour and rapidity to the clause.

5. *Docuimus.* Some editions have *memoravimus.*

6. *Trepida etiam tum civitate,* "the city being even as yet not free from confusion." The excitement produced by the triumph of the popular party and the discomfiture of their opponents remaining still unallayed.

7. *Mamilia rogatione.* In some editions *Mamiliana.*

8. *Quaesitores.* "Commissioners."

9. *Quaestio exercita,* &c., "the enquiry was conducted with harshness and severity, under the guidance of mere rumour and popular caprice." In the absence of substantial proof, mere idle rumours and popular feeling were made to supply its place.

10. *Mos partium popularium,* &c The words *mos partium* would alone suffice to convey the meaning of Sallust, and from *popularium* to *factionum,* both inclusive, might be safely omitted. This has induced some of the best commentators to consider the passage, as it now stands, extremely corrupt. The import of the words, if we retain from *popularium* to *factionum,* will be this: 'the custom of having a party of the people and another in the senate;" i. e. the existence of a popular and an aristocratic party.

11. *Malarum artium,* "evil practices."

12. *Metus hostilis.* For *metus hostium.*

13. *Scilicet ea,* &c. Gruter, Cortius, and other commentators suspect a corruption of the text in this passage, and consider *scilicet* superfluous The Bipont editor changes *scilicet* in-

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to *illico*. No alteration, we conceive, is necessary. *Scilicet* is 78
used by the historian as an affirmative particle, and we may render the clause as follows: "those things which prosperity is accustomed to produce, licentiousness, namely, and pride, came naturally upon them." Licentiousness and pride, the usual attendants of prosperity, naturally made their appearance.

1. *Asperius acerbiusque fuit.* Understand *quam ipsae res ad-* 79
*versae*, "proved a harsher and more galling visitation than adversity itself had been."

2. *Dignitatem.* An elegant zeugma operates in *lubidinem*, which has one meaning when connected with *dignitatem*, and another when joined in construction with *libertatem*. Thus, *dignitatem in lubidinem vertere*, means "to convert their high rank into an instrument of tyranny;" and *libertatem in lubidinem vertere*, "to degrade their freedom into licentiousness." Compare the words of Cortius *ad loc.* "*Nobilitas dignitatem in lubidinem vertit, quando ea ad lubidinem abutebatur, quam egregie ostendit Cat. cap.* 38. *h. e. quando specie dignitatis conservandae dominationem, superbiam, crudelitatem sibi muniebat. Populus libertatem lubidinose exercebat, dum honesto ejus nomine optima instituta allatrabat, seditiones exercebat, omnique licentia patrocinata, nobiles senatumque, qua poterat, vexabat.*"

3. *Ducere*, "dishonestly acquired." *Ducere* here denotes fraud, while *rapere* and *trahere* imply violence. These words, arranged as they are in the text, are employed to express the progress of corruption, commencing with dishonest and clandestine practices, and rising gradually to bold and unpunished violence.

4. *Soluta atque dispersa in multitudine*, "disunited and divided among a large number." Cortius places a comma after *dispersa*, and makes *in multitudine* equivalent to *quamvis multi essent*: "notwithstanding their numbers." Burnouf adopts the same interpretation. We cannot, however, perceive the propriety of such a mode of explanation. The meaning of the historian is evidently this: that the nobility, although inferior in numerical strength to their opponents, were, notwithstanding, able by skilful management and party organization to

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79 accomplish far more than the disunited commons, the very excess of whose numbers forbade the idea of any close political consolidation.

5. *Ex nobilitate.* These words are thought by the best commentators to be a mere interpolation, and ought not, as is done by some, to be referred to the Gracchi, who, although of noble origin, are yet always placed by Sallust in opposition to the nobility and on the side of the commons.

6. *Permixtio civilis,* &c., "a civil commotion, like a parting asunder of the earth." Some editions have *dissentio civilis quasi permixtio,* &c.

7. *Quorum majores.* Tiberius and Caius Gracchus were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, and grandsons, on the side of their mother Cornelia, of the elder Scipio Africanus.

8. *Eadem ingredientem,* "entering upon the same career."

9. *Coloniis deducendis,* "for planting colonies." Colonies were cities or lands which Roman citizens were sent to inhabit. They were transplanted commonly by three commissioners, *(triumviri;)* sometimes by five, ten, or more. The people determined in what manner the lands were to be divided, and to whom. The new colony marched to their destined place in form of an army, with colours flying. By this means a provision was made for the needy citizens, and an additional security provided against insurrection and rebellion.

10. *Necaverant,* "had murdered." A strong expression, betraying the party feelings of the writer too plainly. Compare, in relation to the transactions mentioned in the text, note 2, page 60, and note 3, same page, of this narrative.

11. *Bono vinci satius est,* &c., "it is better for a good man to be overcome by his opponents," &c.

12. *Multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit,* "destroyed many individuals by the sword, or deprived them of all their civil rights by banishment." A remarkable instance of the zeugma. The verb *exstinxit* should properly be joined only with *ferro,* but it is made to connect itself, under a new meaning, also with *fuga.*

80 1. *Deserat.* In some editions *deficeret.*

2. *Paraverunt.* In some editions *partiverant.* The reason

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why some have preferred *partiverant* to *paraverunt* in this passage is because *evenerant* follows, which they refer to a drawing of lots, on the part of the consuls, for their respective provinces. Gronovius, however, has proved, from a comparison of several passages of Livy, that the verb *evenire* does not always carry with it the idea of chance or lot, but refers sometimes to a simple arrangement among the parties. On this ground Cortius and others retain *paraverunt* in the present passage, with the meaning of "arranged." 80

3. *Advorso populi partium*, "an opponent of the popular party." *Advorso* is here taken as a noun. Some editions have *advorso populi partibus*, making *advorso* an adjective.

4. *Aequabili et inviolata*, "uniform and unimpeachable." As if Sallust had said *aequabiliter inviolata*; scil. *inter nobiles et plebem*.

5. *Cum collega*. Understand *esse*. An ellipsis of *communia* seems hardly required by the idiom of the language. The whole clause may be rendered: "having considered every thing else common to himself and his colleague." Sallust does not mean that Metellus neglected the other duties of the consulship, in order to give his whole attention to the war supposing that his colleague would attend to every thing else but that he foresaw he could not expect much assistance from him in these warlike preparations, and therefore paid more attention to them himself, though without neglecting at the same time, his general duties as consul.

6. *Bello vario*, &c., "in a war of a complicated character and standing in need of many things." Beauzée renders it "dans une guerre où la diversité des événements multiplie les besoins."

7. *Ad ea patranda*, &c., "for the accomplishment of these objects, the allies and the Latin nation in consequence of a decree of the senate, kings of their own accord, sent aid."

8. *Sp. Albini pro consule*. Understand *agentis* or *imperantis*: "acting (or, commanding) in the stead of the consul;" i. e. as proconsul. Some editions have *a Sp. Albino*.

9. *Sine imperio et modestia habitus*, "kept under no discipline or restraint."

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81 1. *Aestivorum*, "of the summer campaign." *Aestiva*, strictly speaking, is an adjective like *hiberna*, and has *castra* understood. In Tacitus, *Ann*. 1. 16. 2. we have the ellipsis supplied: "*Castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur.*"

2. *Quantum temporis*, &c., "during as much of the summer campaign as he was in command."

3. *Deducebantur*. *Deducere* is here used in the sense of *diducere*, (compare *Cort. ad loc.*) and the clause may be rendered: "the watches were not distributed according to military usage."

4. *Lixae*. Festus defines the *lixae* as follows: "*Lixae, qui exercitum sequuntur, quaestus gratia: dicti quod extra ordinem sint militiae, eisque liceat, quod libuerit. Alii eos a Licha appellatos dicunt, quod et ille Herculem sit secutus: quidam a liguriendo quaestum.*" Nonius explains the name thus: *Lixarum proprietas haec est, quod officium sustineant militibus aquae vehendae.* Lixam *namque* aquam *veteres vocaverunt; unde* elixum *dicimus* aqua coctum." Vossius prefers deriving the term from *elixare*, "to cook," in allusion to their preparing the food of the soldiers. Independent of its referring to the soldiers' servants and to the sutlers, the name appears to have been occasionally also applied to buffoons. This last meaning of the word rests on a passage in Justin, (38. 10.) where, under the general name of *lixae*, are comprehended *coqui, pistores*, and *scenici*. Justin is speaking of the army which Antiochus led against the Parthians. "*Sed luxuriae non minor apparatus, quam militiae fuit: quippe octoginta millia armatorum secuta sunt trecenta millia lixarum, ex quibus coquorum, pistorum, scenicorumque, major numerus fuit.*" Cortius makes *lixae*, in the passage of Sallust to which this note refers, signify all manner of disorderly persons. It may, however, be better rendered, we conceive, "the followers of the camp."

5. *Die*. Some editions have *diu*.

6. *Villas*, "country-seats," or "villas."

7. *Panem*, &c. This was in violation of the strict rules of military discipline. Besides pay, each soldier received a certain allowance of corn, commonly four pecks (*modii*) a month. This they were to grind, sift, and prepare for bread

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by their own personal exertions, and afterwards bake it them-selves. The centurions received a double, and the cavalry a triple, allowance. Compare Lipsius, (*ad Polyb.* 5. *Dial.* 16.) 81

8. *Tanta temperantia,* &c., "regulated in his deportment with so much moderation, between a desire to gain popularity on the one hand, and rigid discipline on the other;" i. e. pre-serving in his deportment a well regulated medium between these two extremes.

9. *Namque edicto,* &c. *Sustulisse,* in this clause, and *sta-tuisse* lower in the sentence, must not be mistaken for his-torical infinitives: they are both governed by *comperior* under-stood. Some editions read *primo* for *primum,* making it agree with *edicto.*

10. *Agmine.* Here taken for "the march" itself. The three terms, *exercitus, acies,* and *agmen,* may be thus distin-guished. *Exercitus* answers precisely to our English word "army," and means, as Ulpian observes, not one troop, or one cohort, but a considerable number, trained by exercise. It is the generic term, being equally applicable, whether the army be at rest, or in motion; whether drawn up in battle array, or promiscuous and loose. *Acies* is applied to an army in battle array. *Agmen* (*ab agere; ἄγειν,*) refers to an army or band of men in action or in motion. Thus "*Agmina magis quam acies pugnabant; superior tamen, ut in tumultu-aria pugna, Romanus erat.*" Liv. And again, "*Magis ag-mina, quam acies, in via concurrerunt.*" Id. The more usual meaning of *agmen,* however, is a body of men on a march, and it sometimes denotes such a body even when unarmed. *Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2, p. 246. 3d ed.

11. *Arte.* An archaism for *arcte;* "he prescribed strict li-mits to the rest of the army."

12. *Transvorsis itineribus,* "by marches across the country."

13. *Circumire,* "he went the rounds." In general, certain persons were appointed every night to go round the watches, hence called *circuitores* or *circitores.* This seems to have been at first done by the equites and tribunes; on extraordi-nary occasions, as in the present instance, by the command-

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81 er in person, attended by his *legati*. Subsequently, particular persons were chosen for that purpose by the tribunes. Compare Vegetius, 3. 8.

14. *Confirmavit*, "restored to its former efficiency."

82 1. *Innocentia*, "his incorruptible integrity."

2. *Suppliciis*, "with the emblems of submission." By *supplicia*, in this sense, are usually meant branches of olive. The customs, however, of various nations were different in this respect. According to the scholiast on Sophocles, (*Oed. Tyr.* 3.) petitioners among the Greeks usually carried boughs wrapped around with fillets of wool. Στέμμα δέ ἐστι τὸ περιειλημένον ἔριον τῷ θαλλῷ. Compare the remark of Brunck, (*Oed. T. l. c.*) "*Manibus ferebant ramos oleae lana obvolutos, qui Graecis* στεμματα *vocantur. Sic Chryses Iliadis initio:*

> στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
> χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ.————————

Sometimes the hands were covered with these fillets, not only among the Greeks, but also among the Romans: hence in Plautus *Amph.* 1. 1. 101. we have the expression *velatis manibus*. In addition to the authorities cited above, the following may be mentioned: Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 100.

> "*Iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina*
> *Velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes.*"

and *Aen.* 7. 237.

> "*Praeferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum.*"

So also Livy, 29. 16. "*Decem legati Locrensium, obsiti squalore et sordibus, in comitio sedentibus consulibus, velamenta supplicum, ramos oleae, ut Graecis mos est, porrigentes, ante tribunal cum flebili vociferatione, humi procubuerunt.*"

3. *Legatos*, &c., "he addresses himself to each of the ambassadors apart from the rest."

4. *Tentando*, "by tampering with them."

5. *Mapalibus*. In the 18th chapter of this narrative, our author uses the term *mapalia* to express huts: here, however, *tuguria* evidently has that meaning, and *mapalia* denotes "villa-

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ges." Festus, and, after him, Paulus, remark, "*Mapalia casae* 82
*Punicae appellantur.*" So Philargyrius, (*Georg.* 3.) "*Mapalia casae Maurorum, qui in eremo habitare dicuntur.*" Compare Pliny, *H. N.* 5. 3. "*Numidae vero Nomades a permutandis pabulis, mapalia sua, hoc est, domus plaustris circumferentes.*" and Mela, 1. 8. speaking of the interior of Cyrenaica, "*Proximis nullae quidem urbes stant, tamen domicilia sunt quae mapalia appellantur.*" Bochart's derivation of the term is as follows: "Palea *vel* pale *Syris est agricola. Itaque* mapale *deductum proprie erit agricolae tugurium.*" *Geogr. Sac.* 2. 9.

6. *Commeatum portare*, "to carry his provisions." The advantage resulting to the Romans from this offer would be, the releasing of the soldiers and beasts of burthen from the heavy loads they were accustomed to carry. Others render the phrase, "to bring provisions," which Cortius considers inferior to the first.

7. *Et insidiis locum tentari.* We have given *tentari* in the text, instead of *tentare* as most editions read. The meaning is, "and that a place fit for an ambuscade was sought by the enemy:" *tentari* being here equivalent to *quaeri.* This is an emendation which we owe to Gronovius. Cortius, however, condemns it, and reads *tentare*, before which he supposes the words *homines quosdam*, or something equivalent, to be understood. Others make *tentare* the historical infinitive, and refer it to Metellus: "he examined the place to discover an ambuscade." According to both of these explanations, however, the reading *tentare* wants spirit. *Tentari* is given in the Bipont edition.

8. *Velites*, "the light-armed troops." The *velites* took their name from their swiftness and agility, (*a* volando *vel* velocitate.) They were first instituted in the second Punic war, according to Livy, 26. 4. They did not form a part of the legion, and had no certain post assigned them; but fought in scattered parties where occasion required, usually before the lines.

9. *Vaga.* Compare note 2, p. 69 of this narrative.

10. *Forum rerum venalium*, "mart for buying and selling commodities."

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83 1. *Huic Consul*, &c. We have here followed the reading of the Bipont edition, which alone appears to afford an intelligible meaning of this much contested passage. The phrase *huic praesidium imposuit* is the true Latin idiom, though in translating it into our idiom, we are compelled to give *huic* the meaning of an ablative. The meaning of the whole passage is as follows: "In this place the consul stationed a garrison, as well for the sake of sounding the real intentions of Jugurtha, (i. e. of ascertaining whether he really desired peace, or was only seeking to lay an ambuscade) as of watching the result of his own plans, (i. e. the assassination of Jugurtha by his own ambassadors,) if the advantages the place afforded should allow this to be done. (i. e. if, upon trial, the place should prove as advantageous for these two objects as he expected.) The reading adopted by Cortius is this: *Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia, si paterent opportunitates loci praesidium imposuit*: He refers the particle *simul* back to the preceding sentence, and makes Metellus to have been influenced in the step he took, both by the circumstance of there being many Roman traders in the city, and, *at the same time*, by the wish of ascertaining whether the advantages the place afforded would be *open* to his use. This mode of explaining the passage appears to us too harsh, and the latter part extremely obscure, if not actually unintelligible.

2. *Forent*. Some editions add *comportare* after this word. It is altogether unnecessary.

3. *Frequentiam negotiatorum*, &c. The reading which we have adopted in our text is that of the Bipont edition, excepting the words *et jam*, which we have substituted for *etiam*. The meaning of the whole passage will be as follows: "having imagined, as in fact the case itself suggested, that the great number of merchants who dwelt in the place, and of persons who were wont to visit it for the purposes of trade, would prove an assistance to his army, and be a means of security to the conquests he had already made;" i. e. would supply his troops with provisions, &c., and, by their presence, aid in keeping the Numidian inhabitants of the place in subjection: for by both *negotiatores* and *commeatus*, Roman citizens are meant.

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Cortius considers *juvaturum exercitum*, as all the other editions, except the Bipont, have it, to be a mere interpolation; and reads *commeatum etiam paratis rebus fore.* He explains *commeatum* as we have done above; but by *paratis rebus* he considers the stores of provisions to be meant, which Metellus had caused to be collected there. The reading we have adopted seems far preferable. Some editions have *commeatu.* 83

4. *Alienata*, "become the property of another." Fallen into the hands of the enemy.

5. *Quas maxumas*, &c., "as numerous forces as possible." Some editions have *quam*, which is the more usual form of expression. The construction in the text, however, has nothing in it which is at variance with the idiom of the language: it is equivalent to *parat copias quas maximas potest parare.* In a similar way the ellipsis with *quam*, which is in fact a pronoun, may be supplied: thus, *quam maximas copias parat* is nothing more than *parat copias ad eam rationem ad quam potest maximas parare.* The same principle applies to the Greek construction of ὅτι, &c., with the superlative.

6. *Tractu pari*, "running parallel with the river."

7. *Vastus ab natura*, &c., "left bare by nature and the hand of man;" i. e. waste by nature, and uncultivated by human industry.

8. *Quasi collis*, "a sort of hill."

9. *Humi arido*, &c., "in an arid and sandy soil." Understand *solo* to govern *humi*, in the genitive. Compare Statius *Theb.* 7. 755. "*Sternuntur terrae*," and Apuleius, l. 9. "*Ille terrae concidit*," in each of which an ellipsis of *solo* or *in solo* must be supplied. Lucretius, 5. 1288. gives the full expression, "*Aere solum terrae tractabant;*" and *ib.* 1294. "*Et ferro coepere solum proscindere terrae.*"

10. *Media planicies*, "the intervening plain;" i. e. the plain between the mountain and river."

11. *Consita arbustis*, "overgrown with underwood."

1. *Transvorso itinere*, "in a cross direction to the mountain;" i. e. at right angles to the mountain. 84

2. *Extenuata suorum acie*, "having drawn out his forces into a thin line."

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84 3. *Pedites delectos.* Some editions have *et peditibus delectis.*

4. *Decuerint.* Understand *provideri.*

5. *Locum superiorem,* &c. Jugurtha enumerates four particulars, in which, like a good general, he had provided that his own troops should have the advantage. 1st. *Locum superiorem.* 2d. *Uti prudentes cum imperitis (manum consererent.)* A better knowledge of the country than that possessed by the enemy. 3d. *Ne pauciores cum pluribus.* No inferiority of numbers. 4th. *Aut rudes cum bello melioribus.* No want of discipline.——*prudentes,* as has just been observed, denotes persons "well acquainted with the country."

6. *Ut quemque,* &c. A zeugma operates in *extulerat,* by which it assumes a separate meaning with both *pecunia* and *honore.* "As he had gifted any one, on account of some military exploit, with a present of money, or distinguished him by promotion in the ranks of the army." The zeugma, however, may be avoided if *extulerat* be rendered "he had distinguished." But this is less elegant.

7. *Conspicatur.* We give the reading of the Bipont edition, with an ellipsis of *hostes* in the accusative. *Conspicatur* (sc. *hostes*) "espies the enemy." Cortius prefers *conspicitur,* ("is seen,") which does not, we conceive, preserve the connection with what follows as clearly as the other reading.

8. *Equi Numidaeque,* "the Numidians, both horse and foot." Thus *equi virique* signify both horsemen and infantry.

9. *Incerti.* Referring to the Numidians. The adjective *certus* is a derivative from *cerno,* and *res incerta* is nothing more than *res non bene et distincte visa.* The primitive meaning, therefore, of *incertus* is a passive one, and it must be so taken in the present instance. *Incerti* is here the same as *de quibus non constabat.* Perhaps the origin of this construction is to be sought in the idiom of the Greek language. Thus *incerti quidnam esset* becomes ἄδηλοι τίποτ' ἂν εἴη.

10. *Constitit.* Some editions have *constituit.* The verb *consisto,* however, is in fact an active transitive verb, though the active meaning is generally more or less obscured. In this passage it has its accusative expressed, *agmen constitit,* "he halted his army." In most instances, however, it has a pre-

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noun understood: thus *constitit*, "he stopped," understand 84
*sese*.

11. *Commutatis ordinibus*, "having altered the arrangement of his troops." Jugurtha, it will be recollected, had drawn up his forces on the hill which extended in the direction of the river, and at right angles to the mountain. Metellus was descending this mountain in order to reach the river, and consequently had Jugurtha's ambuscade on his right flank. Thus far the Roman army would appear from chapter 46, to have been marching in a single column, each legion composing that column being divided, in the usual manner, into three ranks of *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The moment Metellus perceives his danger, he converts his flank into a front; by wheeling the legions out of column into line on the right. This movement brings all the *hastati* of the several legions into one line; all the *principes* into a second line, and all the *triarii* into a third. The army is then drawn up in three lines, (*triplicibus subsidiis*,) with its front facing the enemy. But how is it to reach the plain? Evidently by a flank march on the left, and in this flank march the three ranks become so many files. Each soldier, therefore, when the word is given to continue the march down the mountain, faces to the left and moves on in file. If the enemy attacks them on their march, they face again to the front and oppose them. Compare, in farther explanation of this movement, Polybius, (*Lips. de Mil. Rom. lib.* 5. *dial.* 12.) Ἐπειδὰν προσπίπτῃ τι τῶν δεινῶν, ποτὲ μὲν παρ' ἀσπίδα κλίναντες, ποτὲ δ' ἐπὶ δόρυ. κ. τ. λ.

12. *Triplicibus subsidiis*, "in three lines." The term *subsidia*, which properly denotes a body of reserve, is here applied to the several lines with reference to the mutual support which they afford to each other.

13. *Inter manipulos*. "In the vacant spaces between the maniples."

14. *Transvorsis principiis*, "having turned the front into a flank." Compare note 11.

1. *Transvorsis proeliis*, "by attacks on his flanks." 85

2. *Lassitudinem*, &c., "would try the effects of weariness and thirst on his (Metellus's) men."

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85 3. *Post principia.* Some doubt exists as to the meaning of *principia* in this passage. The probability is that it denotes the first line or *hastati*, who, although the army was now prosecuting a flank movement, would still become the front when they had faced round to the right. The station of Marius therefore was between the *hastati* and *principes.* The expression *post principia* may therefore be rendered, "behind the first line."

4. *Principes,* "the leading division."

5. *Primos suos,* "those of his men who were stationed nearest the mountain;" i. e. the left wing of the Numidian army.

6. *Quasi,* "about." Used for *fere,* as in Terence, *Heaut.* 1. 1. 93. "*Mercedem quasi talenta ad quindecim coegi.*"

7. *Postremos.* By *postremi* here are meant the soldiers of the right wing, who are called the rear in reference to the direction of the Roman march by files.

8. *Ipsi modo,* &c., "were themselves alone wounded from a distance;" i. e. they could not wound the enemy in return.

9. *Ea vero,* &c. Understand *fuga:* "in prosecuting that flight, the horses of the Numidians, accustomed, as may well be supposed, to the task, easily made their escape amid the underwood."

10. *Foeda atque miserabilis,* "gloomy and affecting."

86 1. *Die.* The old genitive.

2. *Cedentes,* "in case they should give way."

3. *Quos firmos,* &c., "he kept back, by attacking from afar, those whom he found firm in their resistance."

4. *Perfugium.* In some editions *profugium.*

5. *Adverso colle,* "up the hill." *Secundo colle,* "down the hill." The literal meaning of the first of these phrases is, "the hill being against or adverse;" i. e. the declivity or slope of the hill which one has to surmount. In the phrase *secundo colle,* the term *secundo* retains its primitive meaning of *following,* from *sequor,* of which it is properly a verbal: thus, *secundo colle,* literally "the hill following;" i. e. the descent of the hill following after, as it were, and urging us on. So, *secundus ventus,* a wind which follows after the vessel, "a

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favourable wind." *Secundo flumine*, "down the river;" i. e. 86
the current following after and driving an object onwards:
but *adverso flumine*, "up the river;" i. e. the current being against one.

6. *Ubique*. For *et ubi*. "What the enemy were doing and where."

7. *Animo vacuum*, "was without any expectation of an attack."

8. *Ex Jugurthae proelio*, "from the quarter where Jugurtha was engaged."

1. *Arte*. An archaism for *arcte*: "in close array." 87

2. *Prospectum*, "a distant view."

3. *Sicuti acies movebatur*, "as if an army were moving along."

4. *Concurrunt*. Some editions have *concurritur* taken impersonally.

5. *Fessi lassique erant*. Cortius reads *fessi laetique*; we have given the preference, however, to the lection exhibited in the Bipont and other editions. Neither reading, it must be confessed, has much to recommend it. In the one which we have adopted there is an evident approach to pleonasm, while in that of Cortius the meaning does not harmonize with the context: for, if the Romans had been overjoyed at their success, (*laeti*,) they must naturally have felt a very strong desire to meet Metellus, and communicate the intelligence of their victory, or else lend aid to the army under his command. Besides, what has *quamquam* to do with the sentence, if *laeti* be adopted? Its presence is evidently hostile to the use of this epithet. "*Although overjoyed* at their success, *still* they march out to meet Metellus!" This can never be correct. Burnouf supposes *laeti* to be equivalent to *securi*, and remarks in addition, "*at vero eos permovit longior Metelli mora, ne* quieti et laetitiae *indulgerent*." This explanation contradicts itself. The Romans, it seems, are free from all apprehension, (*securi*,) and, at the same time, strongly influenced by it; for the absence of their commander-in-chief fills them with alarm! The reading, then, which we have adopted in our text, must stand until a more careful collating of manuscripts, or some felici-

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87 tous conjecture, supplies us with a less objectionable one The Bipont editor explains *fessi* by "*satis habuere laborum,*" and *lassi* by "*corporis viribus fere defecerant.*" In accordance with this, the passage may be rendered as follows: "But the Romans, although they had encountered severe toil on the march, in the fortifying of their camp, and during the battle, and although their strength was nearly exhausted," &c.

6. *Nihil languidi*, &c. "admitted of no languor nor remissness on the part of the Romans."

7. *Adventarent.* Most editions have *adventare.*

8. *Facinus miserabile,* "a lamentable accident."

9. *Adversae res*, &c., "a defeat humbles even the spirit of the brave."

10. *Saucios cum cura*, &c., "carefully attends to the recovery of his wounded soldiers."

11. *In proeliis*, "in the two engagements;" i. e. the one which he had fought with Jugurtha, and the other between Rutilius and Bomilcar.

88 1. *Numero hominum ampliorem*, &c., "superior to the last in point of numbers, but undisciplined and weak; acquainted with husbandry and pasturage rather than with war;" i. e. composed of husbandmen and herdsmen rather than of soldiers.

2. *Flagitium militiae*, "a disgraceful abandonment of their duty as soldiers."

3. *Ita se mores habent*, "such is their national usage." This custom of abandoning their general after a defeat is always characteristic of a semi-barbarous nation, and was of constant occurrence among the uncivilized communities of ancient times.

4. *Ferocem*, "unsubdued."

5. *Geri non posset.* Cortius omits *non*, and strives to show that *nisi* is here equivalent to *non nisi.*

6. *Non proeliis neque acie*, "not by encounters, nor in a pitched battle."

7. *Temere munita*, "slightly fortified."

8. *Praeda esse.* Some editions have *praedam* as an accusa-

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tive before *esse* and depending on *jubet*. In our reading *esse* is 88
the historical infinitive.

9. *Cui*. Some editions have *cujus*, which is less elegant.

10. *Sua loca*, "places of his own choosing;" i. e. advantageous to himself.

11. *Ex copia*, "considering all circumstances." Upon a full review of the case.

12. *Plerumque*. Agreeing with *exercitum*. This adjective is rarely used in the singular. In early Latinity *plerus*, *—a*, *—um*, were often employed without any syllabic adjection; and hence the use, at a somewhat later period, of *plerusque*, &c., in the singular number. Compare Ruddiman, *Inst. L. G.* vol. 1, p. 152. *in notis*. ed. Stallbaum.

13. *Aviis*, "removed from the beaten track."

14. *Ignoratus*, "unobserved."

1. *Ut seque*, &c. The interchange of tenses in this passage 89
gives an air of great animation to the style: "how he *was regulating* his own and the deportment of his army by the usages of former days; though in an adverse situation, *had* nevertheless *proved* victorious by his valour; *was becoming master* of the enemy's country; *had compelled* Jugurtha, rendered arrogant," &c.

2. *Supplicia*, "a thanksgiving." When a general had obtained an important victory, a thanksgiving was decreed by the senate to be made in the various temples. What was called a *Lectisternium* then took place, when couches were spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their statues were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes.

3. *Effuso exercitu*, "with his army scattered over the country."

4. *Praesidium agitabant*, "formed a convoy."

5. *Partim*. The old accusative for *partem*, more commonly taken as an adverb.

6. *Inter se*. Understand *distantes*. The ellipsis may also be supplied by *distantibus*, (scil. *locis*,) or *distantia*, (scil. *castra*,) but *distantes* is preferable.

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89 7. *Pugnae.* We may either understand *opportunum,* or else, what is preferable, consider this an instance of the dative after a substantive. Compare *Scheller, L. G,* vol. 2, p. 1. *Walker's transl.*

8. *Arcem regni,* "a stronghold of the kingdom."

9. *Zamam.* Zama, a city of Numidia, five days' journey west of Carthage, according to Polybius, (15. 5.) Near this place Scipio, subsequently surnamed Africanus Major, obtained a decisive victory over the Carthaginian forces under the command of Hannibal. Strabo and Hirtius speak of it as the royal residence of Juba. It was levelled to the ground by the Romans after the death of Juba, but rebuilt in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, and by his orders. No traces of it remain at the present day. Pliny (*H. N.* 21. 2.) mentions a fountain at Zama which emitted musical sounds; whence Bochart and De Brosses conjecture that the name of the city meant, in Punic, "the musical fountain."

90 1. *Fallere.* Among the Romans deserters were punished in the severest manner. Hence Jugurtha had no fear of their abandoning his standard and rejoining that of their countrymen. Valerius Maximus (2. 7.) speaks of deserters having been deprived of their hands by Quintus Fabius Maximus; of others who were either crucified or beheaded by the elder Africanus; of others who were exposed to wild beasts by the younger Africanus; and of others whom Paulus Aemilius ordered to be trampled under foot by elephants. Hence it follows that the punishment of deserters was left to the pleasure of the commander.

2. *Siccam.* Sicca, a town of Numidia, on the banks of the Bagradas, some distance from the coast. It contained a celebrated temple of Venus, (*Val. Max.* 2. 6.) and hence is styled by many writers Sicca Venerea. Bochart and De Brosses derive the name of Sicca from the Punic *Succoth Benoth,* "*tabernacula puellarum,*" and make *Benoth,* "puella," the origin of the name Venus among the Romans. D'Anville thinks that Sicca coincides with the modern *Kef.*

3. *Dilectis.* Some editions have *delectis,* but *dilectis,* as has already been observed in a previous part of this volume, de-

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notes more care in the selection, and signifies, properly, chosen from many. 90

4. *Fidem mutavissent*, "would have changed sides."

5. *Opere quam natura*, "by art than by nature."

6. *Infensi intentique*, "in hostile array and on the alert."

7. *Alii succedere*. Before these words some editions have *evadere alii*, which Cortius very properly rejects. The assailants were only of two classes: those who fought from a distance, (*eminus*,) and those who advanced to the ramparts, (*succedere*,) and attempted at one time to undermine, at another to scale the walls. The means of defence put in operation against these were of two kinds: large stones for those who had approached to close quarters, and javelins, &c., for those who prosecuted the attack from a distance.

1. *Praeterea pice*, &c. Cortius reads as follows: *sudes, pila,* 91
*praeterea picem sulphure et taeda mixtam ardentia mittere*. The expression *picem sulphure et taeda mixtam* is hardly Latin, and receives very little, if any, support from the examples which he adduces in its favour. Our reading is that of Gruter, and has been adopted in the Bipont and many other editions. *Mixtam* is for *illitam*, "besmeared," or "covered over;" and *ardentia* is put in the neuter gender as referring to *sudes, pila,* and *taedam*, things without life. The *pila* were javelins with combustible materials attached to them near the head.

2. *Pauci in pluribus*, &c., "a handful amid a host, they were less mistaken in their aim;" i. e. though few in number, they still did great execution among the crowded ranks of the enemy; since, in casting their weapons among them, it was almost impossible for the Romans to do this without effect.

3. *Ad se vorsum*. For *advorsum se*.

4. *Popularis esse*, "that they were his own men."

5. *Angustiis*, "in the narrow passages of the gates."

1. *Agitare*, "to patrol." 92

2. *Proxumo*, "nearest the enemy." Understand *in loco hostibus*.

3. *Facerent*. Some editions have *fecissent*; but as the imperfect of the subjunctive partakes of an aorist meaning, it

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92 may very well, both here and elsewhere, represent the pluperfect. Compare Zumpt, L. G. p. 318. 2d ed. On the usage of the aorist for the pluperfect, consult Matthiae G. G. § 498. Obs. and Buttmann G. G. p. 314. Obs.

4. *Adversis equis*, &c., "advanced straight onwards, disordered and broke the line."

5. *Victos dare.* After the Numidian cavalry had broken the Roman line, they gave the enemy, now almost conquered, into the hands of their light armed infantry, who fought intermingled with the horse. Cortius explains the phrase differently, and makes it equivalent to *per expeditos suos pedites, hostes paene vincebant*, "they came near conquering the enemy by means of their light armed foot alone." He adduces many analogous passages to prove that *victos dare* is here put for *vincere.* We give the preference, however, with Burnouf and others, to the first explanation.

6. *Obpugnare, aut parare.* The former of these two verbs refers to the Romans, the latter to the Numidians; "they prosecuted the attack, or resisted the assailants." After *parare* understand *defensionem.*

7. *Niti corporibus*, "made contortions with their bodies."

8. *Agitare*, "kept moving themselves."

9. *Studio suorum adstrictis*, "engrossed with anxious concern for their countrymen."

10. *Aggressi*, "having assailed it." Cortius reads *egressi*, and refers the term to the soldiers having left the ladders and clinging to the battlements.

93 1. *Unae.* This numeral is used in the plural with nouns which have no singular, or are used in a different sense in that number; or else, whose singular is of rare occurrence. Thus, *una moenia, una castra, unae literae*, &c. In the present instance the singular number of *scala* is rarely, if ever, met with, and hence the plural form is employed. Charisius, Diomedes, and other Grammarians maintain that the singular of this word is never used. Compare Quintilian, 1. 5. 16. "*Scala tamen et* scopa, *contraque* hordea *et* mulsa. *licet literarum mutationem, detractionem, adjectionem non habeant, non alio vitiosa sunt quam quod pluralia singulariter, et singularia pluraliter efferun-*

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*tur.*" Celsus, however, (8. 15.) uses the singular of *scala*: thus, "*Sic brachium deligatum super scalae gallinariae gradum trajicitur*;" and also Caius, (*Dig. lib.* 46. *tit.* 2. *leg.* 56.) "*Qui scalam commodaverit ad ascendendum.*" 93

2. *Quoquo modo.* In some editions *quo quisquè modo.*

3. *Suo loco.* Equivalent to *loco sibi opportuno*: "a place of his own selecting."

4. *Ceterum exercitum*, "the rest of his army."

5. *Qua.* Understand *parte*. If we read *quae*, as most editions do, we shall have merely an unmeaning gloss, *quae proxima est Numidiae.*

6. *Per maxumam amicitiam*, "on account of his very intimate friendship with the monarch." Compare Butler, *Praxis on the Latin prepositions*, p. 87.

1. *Jugurtham.* Understand *qui dicerent.* Some editions 94
have *qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent.*

2. *Sine ulla pactione*, "unconditionally."

3. *Imperandum.* The gerund is here used, according to the grammarians, in a passive sense: "for the purpose of being ordered;" i. e. "to receive orders." Cortius cites a passage from Cicero, (Ep. 9. 25.) to confirm this interpretation: "*Nunc ades ad* imperandum *vel ad parendum potius, sic enim antiqui loquebantur.*" An active meaning, however, though not a very elegant one, may be given to the gerund in the present passage of Sallust: viz. "for the purpose of Metellus's ordering him." Compare note 2, page 50.

4. *Tisidium.* Glareanus thinks Tisidium to be the same with what Ptolemy calls Thisica, between the city of Thabraca and the river Bagradas. Barbiè du Bocage, however, is inclined to make it identical with Tysdrus, in the district of Emporiae. The village of *El-jem* now occupies a part of the site of this latter city.

5. *C. Mario.* Marius was a complete slave to superstition. Plutarch and Frontinus both make mention of a Syrian woman named Martha, whom he carried about with him, and who, as he pretended, and very likely believed, was possessed of the gift of prophecy.

6. *Agitabat*, "he was meditating."

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94 7. *Animus belli ingens,* "a high martial spirit."

8. *His natus.* Understand *virtutibus* after *his*. Most other editions read *Sed is, natus et altus,* &c. The former lection, however, appears decidedly preferable, as marking the contrast between the early and later periods of Marius's life.

9. *Arpini.* Arpinum, now *Arpino,* a town of Latium, which originally belonged to the Volsci, and which the Romans wrested from the Samnites 307 B. C. It was the birth-place also of Cicero. Arpino is now a poor village.

10. *Stipendiis faciundis,* "in actual service." Literally, "in making campaigns."

95 1. *Urbanis munditiis,* "in the polite accomplishments of a city-life."

2. *Notus.* At first no one knew who the candidate was; but when his name, *Caius Marius,* was heard, he was easily recognised by the people as a brave and gallant soldier. *Facile notus* may therefore be rendered, "being easily recognised by name."

3. *Ad id locorum,* "up to that time." *Locus* is here used for *tempus*. Compare chapter 72 of this narrative: *post id locorum;* i. e. *postea*. So Terence uses *interea loci* for *interea,* and Plautus, *interibi*.

4. *Consulatum appetere.* Cortius reads *petere* merely, and considers *consulatum* understood.

5. *His.* Cortius reads *is*. With our reading either *nobilibus* may be understood, or *his* may be rendered with reference to it: "by these."

6. *Contemtor animus,* "a disdainful spirit."

7. *Tam prava,* "so erroneons a line of conduct."

8. *Ubi primum,* &c., "as soon as the public business would permit."

9. *Annos natus,* &c. As the strictly legal age for obtaining the consulship was 43 years, Marius, according to the ironical advice of Metellus, would have to wait 23 years longer; and as we may suppose Marius to have been, at the time here alluded to, at least 43 years, (since he entertained thoughts of then standing for the consulship,) he would have to delay his suit until he was 66 years old. Compare Plutarch's account

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of this same circumstance, at the conclusion of note 1, page 99, of this narrative. 95

10. *Grassari*, " he advanced boldly on to his object."

1. *Ambitiosum*, " calculated to gain popularity." 96

2. *Criminose*, &c., " both in a style of accusation as regarded Metellus, and boastingly with respect to himself."

3. *Dimidia*, &c. Understand *si*.

4. *Inanis*, " vain."

5. *Regiae superbiae*, " with all the pride of a king."

6. *Animo cupienti*, " to an ardent spirit."

7. *Secundum haeredem*. By *haeres secundus*, among the Romans, was meant the individual to whom the inheritance descended, if the heir or heirs who were first appointed did not choose to accept, or died under the age of puberty.

8. *Morbis confectus*, &c., " wasted by disease, and consequently a little shattered in his mental powers."

9. *Sellam*. The general had a chair of state, on which he sat when he presided in a council of war, or in judgment, or gave audience to embassadors. His lieutenants, or *legati*, and other persons of distinction took places around him ; and if a king happened to be in the army, he sat next to the general on his right hand. The *sella curulis*, used not only on these occasions, but by all the higher class of Roman magistrates, was a stool or seat without a back, with four crooked feet fixed to the extremities of cross pieces of wood, joined by a common axis, somewhat in the form of the letter X, and covered with leather; so that it might be conveniently folded together for the purpose of carriage, and set down wherever the magistrate chose to use it. It was frequently adorned with ivory, and hence called *Curule ebur*.

10. *Anxium*, " vexed at the refusal."

11. *Imperatoris*. Some editions have *in imperatorem*.

12. *Secunda oratione*, " in a flattering speech."

13. *Id adeo*, " that this indeed."

14. *Equites Romanos*. The farmers of the revenue, who collected the public taxes in this quarter, and also those persons of equestrian rank who traded in these parts.

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96 15. *Honestissuma suffragatione*, "by a very respectable interest."

16. *Plebes*. A noun of the fifth declension, *plebes, —ĕi*. Compare *Cic. de Leg.* 3, 3. *Lucan.* 3, 58 : 7, 760 : 9, 254. *Sil. Ital.* 8, 271 : 9, 636. &c.

97 1. *Ostentando*, "by offering."

2. *Reficere*, "he made anew."

3. *Commercari*, "he bought up on all sides."

4. *Cuncta agitare*, "he put every engine in motion."

5. *Suppliciis*, "by the entreaties."

6. *Discordiosum*, "contentious." This is supposed by some to be a word peculiar to Sallust; it occurs, however, in Sidonius Ep. 6. 2. extr. and in Cyprian Ep. 42. 2.

7. *Festus*. Days among the Romans were distinguished into three general divisions: the "*Dies Festi*," "*Dies Profesti*," and "*Dies Intercisi*." The *Dies Festi*, or "Holy Days," were consecrated to religious purposes; the *Dies Profesti* were given to the common business of life; and the *Dies Intercisi* were "Half holidays," divided between sacred and ordinary occupations. The *Dies Festi* were set apart for the celebration of these four solemnities: "*Sacrificia*," "*Epulae*," "*Ludi*," and "*Feriae*."—The three first were sacrifices, banquets, and games, in honour of the gods. *Feriae* were either public or private. The public were of four kinds: "*Stativae*," "*Conceptivae*," "*Imperativae*," and "*Nundinae*." The *Feriae Stativae* were stated festivals, appointed by the Calendar. *Conceptivae* were named by the magistrates or priests, and were annually observed. *Imperativae* were appointed by the consuls, or chief magistrates, on any extraordinary occasion. *Nundinae*, because kept every ninth day, (quasi *Novendinae*,) correspond to the modern fairs or great market-days, when the people from the country brought their commodities into the city, and exposed them to sale. Though they thus were at first in the number of the *Feriae*, they were afterwards, for the accommodation of the country people, declared to be *dies Fasti*, on which law-suits were determined. The *Feriae Privatae* were holidays observed by particular persons, or families, as birthdays and the like. The *Profesti* were "*Fasti*," "*Comitiales*,"

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"*Comperendini,*" "*Stati,*" and "*Proeliares.*" The *Dies Fasti* were so called, because on them it was lawful (*fas*) for the praetor to sit in judgment, and to say "*Do, dico, addico,*" "I give laws, declare rights, adjudge redress." For it is to be observed, that it was the business of the praetor, *Dare actionem et judices,* "To give the writ, and to name the judges, or jury." *Dicere jus,* "To dispense justice," and *Addicere bona,* "To adjudge compensation or redress," by assigning, for example, the goods of the debtor to the creditor. All other days were called *Nefasti,* or "Non-court days." *Comitiales* were for holding the *comitia* or public assemblies. *Comperendini,* for giving bail *Stati,* for deciding causes between a Roman and a foreigner. *Proeliares,* for attacking an enemy, it being deemed unlawful to do this during the continuance of some particular feasts. *Crombie's Gymnasium,* vol. 2, p. 56. 3d ed. 97

8. *Ludum et lasciviam,* &c., "presented an aspect of sport and merriment rather than of what was calculated to alarm."

9. *Trepidare ad arcem oppidi,* "ran in confusion to the citadel."

10. *Pro tectis,* "in front of the roofs;" i. e. "on the eaves of the houses."

11. *Anceps malum,* "the evil which threatened on all sides."

12. *Infirmissimo generi,* "the feeblest portion of the human race;" i. e. women and children.

1. *In ea tanta asperitate.* "In this so distressing a situation of affairs." 98

2. *Intestabilis,* "detestable," or "infamous." The word properly signifies one who can neither make a will, be a witness, nor receive a testamentary request. Sallust, in his account of the conduct of Turpilius, does not agree with Plutarch, who makes the accusation to have been a false one, and Turpilius to have been condemned through the agency of Marius. Compare note 1, page 99.

3. *E conspectu abit,* "withdraws from public view."

4. *Ira et aegritudo,* "resentment and grief."

5. *Expeditos,* "disencumbered of baggage."

6. *Horam tertiam.* The Romans divided the natural day, from sun-rise to sun-set, into twelve hours, which were of

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98 course shorter in winter and longer in summer. At the equinoxes, their third hour would exactly coincide with our ninth. The night was divided into four watches, (*vigilia prima, secunda*, &c.) each consisting of three hours, which were likewise of a different length at different times of the year. Thus *hora sexta noctis*, "mid-night;" *septima*, "one o'clock in the morning," &c.

7. *Abnuentis omnia*, "completely averse to any farther exertion." The meaning is, not that the troops now openly refused obedience to orders, but that by their looks and gestures they plainly expressed their unwillingness to proceed. This is extremely well expressed by *abnuentis*.

8. *Praedam benigne ostentat*, "he generously offers them the booty of the place."

9. *Late*. The common text has *latere*, a manifest corruption: for if this be meant as an ablative from *latus*, what can be the signification of *ire in primo latere?* if, on the contrary, it be intended for the infinitive of *lateo*, it militates against the sense, as the object of Metellus was that the horse should be seen, the foot concealed from view.

10. *Effusum*, "that had come out in crowds."

11. *Ex perfidia*, "since their treachery."

12. *Poenae cuncta*, &c., "was entirely given up to punishment or to plunder."

99 1. *Capite poenas solvit*. According to Plutarch, Turpilius and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in this war in the character of master of the artificers. Marius, who was one of the council of war that tried him, was not only himself severe against him, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and it was much against his will that he passed upon him sentence of death. A short time afterwards, according to Plutarch, the accusation appeared a false one, and all the other officers sympathised with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius with joy declared that the thing was all his own doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies that he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, which would not fail to pu-

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nish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family. Plutarch states, that after this they became more open enemies, and that the conversation between Metellus and Marius, of which Sallust makes mention in the 64th chapter of this narrative, took place subsequently to this event. According to the biographer, one day when Marius was standing by, Metellus said by way of insult, "You are thinking, then, my good friend, of leaving us, and going home to solicit the consulship: would you not be contented to stay, and be consul with this son of mine." The son of Metellus, adds Plutarch, was then very young. (*Plut. Vit. Mar.* c. 8.—*ed. Hutten. vol.* 3, p. 68.) 99

2. *Nam is civis ex Latio erat.* It was enacted by the Porcian law, that no one should bind, scourge, or kill, a Roman citizen; and, by the Sempronian law, that sentence should not be passed upon the life of a Roman citizen without the order of the people. It still remains a disputed point whether the operation of these laws was suspended or not in the Roman *camp*. The present passage of Sallust goes to prove, that the laws in question were not superseded by the military power of the consul, but remained in full force, since the words of our author fairly imply that Turpilius would not have lost his life had he been a citizen of Rome. In the days of Polybius, however, before the period of which Sallust treats, it would appear that the punishment of delinquents in the camp was not impeded by the laws mentioned above. The subject is discussed by Lipsius, (*De Mil. Rom.* 5. *dial.* 18.) though without being brought to any definite conclusion.

3. *Fatigare animum*, "he wearied his invention."

4. *Carum acceptumque.* Some editions read *magnis opibus clarum, acceptumque*, &c.

5. *Superaverant*, "had remained over;" i. e. had remained undone.

6. *Inter hiberna.* In chapter 61 we are informed, that Metellus had fixed the winter-quarters of his army in that part of the Roman province which was nearest to Numidia, and that he had besides stationed garrisons in several cities of Numidia; hence the propriety of the phrase *inter hiberna.*

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99 7. *Metusque rem impediebat.* Some consider these words superfluous after what immediately precedes: *magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tempus non venit.* Sallust, however, wishes to explain the term *perculsus.* Nabdalsa was struck by the daring nature of the attempt; hence fear seized upon him, and this fear, which prevented him from coming at the appointed time, defeated the enterprise.

8. *Vetere consilio,* "his former design."

9. *Mollitiem,* "the want of energy." Some editions have *in quis* preceding this word.

10. *Praemia.* Preceded in some editions by *monere.*

11. *Id modo agitari,* "that alone was the question."

12. *Aegrum animum,* "a mind ill at ease."

100 1. *Opera et ingenio suo,* "of his assistance and abilities."

2. *Uti acta.* Some editions have after *acta* the words *ex perfugis cognovit.*

3. *Indicem,* "the informer."

4. *Quae ipse paravisset,* &c., "that what he himself had intended to do, had been anticipated by the treachery of his dependant."

5. *Oppresserat,* "he had suppressed."

6. *Quieta,* "given to uninterrupted repose."

7. *Fuere.* Some editions have *fuit,* and, strictly speaking, the singular is here the proper form. Similar deviations, however, sometimes occur in the best writers. Thus Cicero, *Or.* 2. 4. 16. "*ne Sulpicius . . . . aut Cotta plus quam ego apud te valere videantur.*" Compare *Heusinger ad Cic. de Off.* 1. 41. and Longinus, 14. *ed. Weiske:* πῶς ἂν Πλάτων ἢ Δημοσθένης ὕψωσαν, ἢ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ Θουκυδίδης.

8. *Circumspectare,* "he narrowly inspected."

9. *Fatigantem de profectione,* "importuning him for leave to set out."

10. *Metello ac Mario.* Compare chapter 65, towards the close.

11. *Volenti animo.* Cortius and others are inclined to consider *volenti animo* as the dative by a Greek construction, and depending on *quae erant* understood. It is far preferable, however, to regard *volenti animo* as an ablative. When the pas-

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sage can be thus explained on the simplest principles of con- 100
struction, it seems altogether unnecessary to have recourse to a harsh and almost ungrammatical mode of explanation, which the advocates for the dative, in this instance, have not hesitated to do. Nor does *volenti animo*, even supposing it were the dative, and that *quae erant* were understood, bear any close resemblance to the Greek idiom to which Cortius and others would refer it. The rule for that peculiar idiom in Greek is as follows: "The verbs εἶναι and γίγνεσθαι are often accompanied by a participle of the verb, "to wish," &c., in the dative; in which case the participle only, as the leading idea, is translated by the finite verb." (Compare Matthiae, G. G. § 391. e.) Thus *Od.* γ', 228. οὐκ ἄν ἔμοιγε ἐλπομένῳ τα γένοιτο. "I had not expected this." *Herod.* 9. 46. ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν ἡδομένοισιν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι. "Since we were pleased with your discourse." *Thucyd.* 6. 46. τῷ Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων. "Nicias expected the events in Segesta." An imitation of this in Latin occurs in Tacitus. *Agric. Vit.* 18. "*Quibus bellum volentibus erat;*" and in chapters 84 and 100 of the present narrative. Now these Latin examples, to say nothing of the Greek, are entirely different from the one at present under consideration; this last, in order to come under the above rule, and have *volenti* in the dative, must be entirely modelled anew and stand thus: *plebi, litteris quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant cognitis, volenti erant quae de ambobus fuerant accepta.* The expression *volenti animo*, then, must be regarded as the ablative, and the whole clause rendered as follows: "the commons, having learned the contents of the letters which had been sent respecting Metellus and Marius, had received the information contained in them respecting both with a feeling of satisfaction," or "with willing minds."

12. *Illi.* Used as the definite article.

13. *Studia partium*, "party spirit."

1. *Quorum res fidesque*, &c., "whose property and credit de- 101
pended on their labour."

2. *Frequentarent Marium*, "attended Marius in crowds."

3. *Post multas tempestates*, "after a long series of years."

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101 Compare Catiline, chap. 53. "*multis tempestatibus.*" Cicero, another *novus homo*, obtained the consulship a long period after Marius. Compare his own words, (2 *Agrar*. 1.) "*Me perlongo intervallo prope memoriae temporumque nostrorum primum hominum novum consulem fecistis:*" &c. Some very erroneously refer *tempestates* in this passage to civil dissensions, contrary to the usage of Sallust.

4. *Decreverat.* Understand *Numidiam*, which in some editions is expressed. The determination of the consular provinces properly belonged to the senate. Sometimes the people, as in the present instance, reversed what the senate had decreed respecting the provinces. So, the attempt of Marius, by means of the tribune Sulpicius, to get the command of the war against Mithridates transferred from Sylla to himself by the suffrage of the people, gave occasion to the first civil war at Rome.

5. *Varius incertusque agitabat.* Understand *sese*; "was distracted by a variety of schemes, and uncertain which to put in operation."

6. *Pro tempore*, "as well as the occasion would admit."

7. *Adfuit.* Understand *pugnae*, which in some editions is expressed.

8. *Tuta sunt.* For *tuita sunt*, from *tueor*. The primitive form was *tuor, tuitus sum, tui.* Compare *Catullus*, 20. 5. *Stat. Achill.* 1. 131. *ap. Prisc.* 8. 17. *Plaut. Asin.* 2. 3. 23. *Id. Pers.* 2. 2. 26. *Terent. Heaut.* 2. 4. 23. *Acc. ap Non.* 2. 522. *Turpil. ibid.* 7. 20. *Plaut. Asin.* 1. 1. 111. and 3. 1. 20. *Lucret.* 4. 39. and 5. 319. &c.

9. *Impensius modo*, &c. "now more than ever distrusting the success of his affairs."

10. *Thalam.* Supposed by some to be the same with Telepte, now *Ferre-anach*, though this seems doubtful. Tacitus speaks of it (*Ann.* 3. 21.) as affording a place of refuge to the Romans, who retired into the desert, when Tacfarinas, a Numidian chief, had raised a rebellion. Compare *Shaw, Travels in Barbary, vol.* 1. *pt.* 2. *chap.* 5.

102 1. *Filiorumque ejus*, &c., "and where many things had been provided for the educating and rearing of his offspring." *Fi-*

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*liorum* appears to be here used both for sons and daughters. 102
Compare *Quintilian*, 9. 3. "*Jungit autem et diversos sexus, ut cum marem feminamque filios dicimus.*" So also Cortius, (ad loc.) "Filiorum *credo etiam ad* filias *Jugurthae spectat. vide infra, cap.* 80, *quos supra, cap.* 47, *usitato* liberorum *nomine exprimit. A potiore enim sexu denominationem sumunt, et* filios, fratres, soceros, patres, avos, reges *dicunt, qui sunt ex utroque sexu.*"

2. *Vasa.* In the singular, *vas, vasis;* in the plural, *vasa, vasorum.* The old nominative *vasum* occurs in *Plaut. Truc.* 1. 1. 33. *Charis.* p. 119. *Cledon.* p. 1902.

3. *Ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit.* Cortius considers this a mere interpolation, with the exception of *dicit,* so that *ubi praesto fuerint prae,* according to him, is from a later hand than that of the historian. There is every reason to believe that the critic is right in this judgment; for, in the first place, the addition of *ubi praesto fuerint,* in the present instance, is inconsistent with the general usage of Sallust, and, in the next, the application of *ubi* to both time and place is aukward and inelegant. Still we have allowed the common reading to remain: *ubi* must be rendered, "when and where."

4. *Officia intenderant,* "had overdone their duty;" "had done more than they were ordered."

5. *Religione,* "from a superstitious feeling."

6. *Locorum asperitate,* "by the wildness of the country."

7. *Infectum,* "impracticable."

8. *Arma, tela.* Must be translated generally: "things calculated for defence, for offence."

9. *Ceteris imperitantem,* "giving laws to the rest of men."

1. *Per otium,* &c., "in time of leisure, and in consequence 103
of opportunity."

2. *Ex copia,* "out of the whole number."

3. *Et super aggerem.* We have retained the reading of Cortius, which appears much superior to that of the Bipont edition. The latter has as follows: *insuper aggere, turribus, opus et administros tutari.*

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103 4. *Oppido modo potiti,* "made themselves masters of the town alone."

5. *Corrupta,* "destroyed."

6. *Arietibus.* The most formidable machine made use of by the Romans for the taking of cities was the *aries,* or "battering ram:" a long beam, like the mast of a ship, and armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram's head; whence it had its name. It was suspended by the middle with ropes or chains fastened to a beam that lay across two posts, and hanging thus equally balanced, it was by a hundred men, more or less, (who were frequently changed) violently thrust forward, drawn back, again pushed forward, till by repeated strokes it had shaken and broken down the wall with its iron head. The ram was covered with sheds or mantlets, called *vineae,* which have already been described.

7. *Eas ipsi,* &c., "these they suffered voluntarily from their own hands."

8. *Suam salutem,* &c. *Illorum* in this passage refers to the Romans, and it is the same as if Sallust had said, *suam, qui illorum socii essent, salutem.* The passage may hence be rendered, "that their safety, who were the allies of the Romans, would be in the greatest danger."

9. *Navi fecerant,* "they had executed with promptness." The more usual form, and, we may add, the earlier one, would seem to have been *gnavus,* not *navus.* The term appears to be derived from the Greek γενναῖος, by contraction γναῖος, and with the insertion of the digamma, dropping at the same time the ι, we have γνᾶFος, or, by subscribing the ι, γνᾷFος.

10. *Eo missae.* Cortius and others read *emissae eo.*

11. *Sidoniis.* Sidon was a famous commercial city, the capital of Phoenicia, about 24 miles north of Tyre, which was one of its colonies. According to Josephus, (*Antiq. Jud.* 1. 6.—vol. 1, p. 23. *ed. Havercamp.*) the place had its name from Sidonius, one of the sons of Chanaan, who founded it. Σιδώνιος, ὃς καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, Σιδὼν δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων καλεῖται. So also St. Jerome, (*Tradit. Heb. in Genes.* vol. 3, p. 206. *d.*) "*De Chanaan primus natus est Sidon,*

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*a quo urbs in Phoenice Sidon vocatur."* Justin, on the other 103
hand, refers the name to a Phoenician term, signifying *fish.* "*Condita ibi urbe, quam a* piscium *ubertate* Sidona *appellaverunt.*" (*Hist Philipp.* 18. 4. 3. *ed. Gronov.*) With this latter etymology Bochart agrees, (*Geogr. Sac. cap.* 35.) "*Verum esse puto quod Sidonem scribit Trogus,* a piscium ubertate *sic appellari. Nam* Said *id est piscatio, hodieque Sidon dicitur, ut Galilaeae oppidum* Bethsaida, *quasi domum piscationis dixeris. Nec Sidoni minus congruit, quam Hebraei nos docent esse ad mare piscosissimum. Itaque cum* Gen. 10. 15. *legitur Sidon fuisse Chanaanis primogenitus, per Sidonem intellige Sidoniorum patrem, vel Sidonis conditorem : quocunque fuerit nomine.*" Sidon is mentioned as being "very great" in the time of Joshua. When it was become extremely powerful by its wealth and commerce, it possessed the first rank among the other cities of Syria. The Sidonians were eminent for their industry, their knowledge of commerce, and their manufactures. In the issue, however, Tyre gained the ascendancy. Pliny (*H. N.* 5. 15.) calls Sidon, "*artifex vitri, Thebarumque Boeotiarum parens.*" Sidon still subsists under the name of *Sayde,* a poor and ill-built town, having some commerce, however, with the adjacent regions.

1. *Sitium.* Of course the larger Leptis is here meant. Com- 104
pare note 7, page 62, and note 14, same page.

2. *Syrtis.* Compare note 13, page 62.

3. *Ex re,* "from the reality," or "from the real circumstances of the case." The derivation, to which Sallust here alludes, is from the Greek σύρω, *traho*; because the sand and stones were drawn backward and forward by the violence of the wind and tide. This etymology is very probably false. Compare note 13, page 62.

4. *Extrema Africa.* The extremity of Africa toward the East, according to the ancient division of it, by which Egypt was excluded.

5. *Proxuma.* Understand *loca.*

6. *Uti fors tulit,* "as chance has brought about."

7. *Leges,* &c., "their laws and the principal features in their mode of life were Sidonian." *Cultus* is here the geni-

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104 tive, dependant upon *pleraque*. Some editions have *legum cultusque*.

8. *Frequentem Numidiam*, "the thickly settled part of Numidia." After *frequentem* understand *oppidis et cultoribus.*——*multi vastique loci*, "a large tract of desert country."

9. *Ager in medio arenosus*, &c., "a sandy country intervened, of one uniform appearance;" i. e. a naked open plain.

10. *Legiones*, "armies." Sallust here speaks "*Romano more*," and applies to other nations terms which can only suit his own.

11. *Per inducias*, "during a truce."

12. *Quibus nomen*, &c., "whose name was Philaeni." An elegant construction, the dative *Philaenis* being attracted to the dative of the person. The plain syntax would be *quibus nomen Philaeni erat*. Compare Livy, 3. 17. "*Consules leges decemvirales, quibus* tabulis *duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt.*"

13. *Nuda gignentium*, "bare of vegetable productions."

105 1. *Morari*. Understand *solet, iter* being the accusative dependant on *morari*.

2. *Ob rem corruptam*, "for their mismanagement."

3. *Poeni*. Compare note 17, page 62.

4. *Graeci*. The Cyreneans, who were a Greek colony. Compare note 11, page 62.

5. *Optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt*, "give the Carthaginians their choice."

6. *Vel illi*. Understand *ut*, which in some editions is expressed.

7. *Ordines habere*, "to keep their ranks."

8. *Ad studium sui*, "to favour his views."

9. *Id ea gratia*, &c. "That was the more easy to be effected, and more agreeable to the inclinations of Bocchus, on this account, because," &c. It is the same as if Sallust had said *facilius factu propter Bocchi pronam ad bellum suscipiendum voluntatem.*

10. *Bocchi*. Many of the old editions read *Boccho*, making Bocchus to have been Jugurtha's son-in-law. The Abbè Brotier, relying upon this reading and some of Sylla's medals,

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proposes to substitute, in Plutarch's life of Marius, where men- 105
tion is made of the Moorish king, the term son-in-law (γαμβρὸς) for father-in-law (πενθερός). But M. Vauvilliers more judiciously contends, from six manuscripts of Sallust, and in conformity with Florus, 3. 1. for the term father-in-law. In this Larcher concurs. Cortius, the Bipont editor, and all the late editions, read *Bocchi*.

11. *Necessitudo*, "connection."

12. *Eo amplius*. Understand *eas habent*.

13. *Animus multitudine*, &c., "affection is weakened by the large number that have claims upon the heart."

14. *Nulla pro socia obtinet*, "no one of them enjoys the rank of consort." Equivalent to "*Sociae locum et dignitatem nulla tenet*." Some editions have *nullam pro socia obtinet*, a reading altogether erroneous. *Obtinet*, in the text, is put for *valet*, or *est*.

1. *Omnia regna*, &c., "all monarchies were objects of hos- 106
tile regard."

2. *Tum sese*, &c., "that, at present, he himself was; that a short time previous the Carthaginians, and also king Perses, had been: that, for the time to come, as each one appeared very powerful, so he would be regarded as, an enemy to the Romans." Perses was king of Macedonia, vanquished and led in triumph by Paulus Aemilius.

3. *Operae pretium fore*. Understand *sibi*; "that these would be to him a reward for his trouble."

4. *Bocchi pacem imminuere*, "to lessen Bocchus's chance of peace."

5. *Cognitis Mauris*, &c., "to make battle on advantageous terms, after having reconnoitred the Mauri;" i. e. after having ascertained what kind of foe the Mauri were.

6. *Bonum atque honestum*, "what was right and becoming."

7. *Vir egregius*, &c., "though a man illustrious for other high qualities, he bore mental affliction with too little firmness."

8. *In superbiam vortebant*, "attributed to pride."

9. *Bonum ingenium*, "an honourable spirit." Understand *dicebant* after *alii*.

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106 10. *Multi.* Understand *hanc esse doloris causam arbitrabantur*, or something equivalent.

1. *Magnam copiam*, "a great opportunity."

2. *Omne bellum*, &c., "that every war was easy to be under-
107 taken, but ended with the greatest difficulty."

3. *Perditis*, "the ruined ones." Understand *rebus*.

4. *Si eadem illi copia fieret*, "if the same opportunity were afforded him." If the same offer were made him.

5. *Contra*, "in answer to."

6. *Ille.* Referring to Bocchus. Understand *partim* with *abnuere*.

7. *Intactum trahi*, "was protracted without any thing of importance being done." Languished in inaction.

8. *Cupientissima plebe*, "in full accordance with the wishes of the people." Literally, "by the very eagerly desiring commons."

9. *Jussit.* The accusative *provinciam* depends on *jussit*. The question has frequently been started by grammarians, whether the verb *jubeo* can govern an accusative. Crombie very successfully maintains the affirmative in his excellent work, *Gymnasium, vol.* 1, p. 102. *seqq*. 3d ed.

10. *Multus atque ferox*, "was frequent and violent in his attacks upon that order."

11. *Magnifica pro se, &c.*, "full of boasting as regarded himself, and galling at the same time to them."

12. *Prima habere*, "he considered of primary importance."

13. *Plerosque militiae*, &c., "most of them known to him in war; a few by report." We have here an instance of double construction not unusual in Sallust. *Militiae* (scil. *in tempore*) is equivalent here to *apud exercitum*.

14. *Ambiendo*, "by going around in a friendly manner."

15. *Quia neque plebi*, &c. We have here a *genuine* imitation of the Greek idiom alluded to in note 11, page 100. "Because military service was thought to be disagreeable to the common people, and Marius on the point of losing either the new levies, on which he had calculated for the successful prosecution of the war, or else the affections of the multitude."

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1. *Animis trahebant*, "they fancied in their minds." 108

2. *Exagitandi*, "of inveighing against."

3. *Scio ego, Quirites*, &c. "I am well aware, Romans, that most persons do not seek an office from you, and discharge its duties, after they have obtained it, in the same character."

4. *Contra ea*, "the opposite to this."——*videtur*, "appears the true course."

5. *Nam, quo*, &c. Understand *videtur*. "For it appears to me (i. e. I am persuaded) that, by how much more important the commonwealth is," &c.

6. *Illam*. Omitted by Cortius.

7. *Neque me fallit*, &c. "Nor does it escape my observation, how heavy a task I am called upon to sustain, in consequence of the signal favour which you have shown me." i. e. how laborious, at the present juncture, are the duties of that station to which, in your kindness, you have elected me.

8. *Opinione, Quirites, asperius est*, "is more difficult, my countrymen, than is generally supposed."

9. *Nam alia infirma sunt*, "for my other supports are weak." After *alia* understand *adminicula mea*.

10. *Omnium ora*, &c., "that the eyes of all are turned upon me."

11. *Quippe benefacta mea*, &c., "since the correct discharge of duty on my part, proves of service to my country."

12. *Ut neque vos*, &c., "that you may not be ensnared, and that they may be disappointed." A thing *est frustra* when it is without advantage: a person *est frustra* when disappointed in his or her hopes.

13. *Ita ad hoc aetatis*, &c. "I have so lived from boyhood to my present age, as to have become familiarised to all toils, all dangers.

14. *Ante vestra beneficia*, "before I received any favours at your hands."

1. *Benefacere*, "to do what duty demands." Or it may be 109
rendered as a substantive, "the correct discharge of duty."

2. *Veteris prosapiae*, &c., "of ancient lineage, and a long line of ancestors, but a total stranger, at the same time, to mi-

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109 litary service." In explanation of the phrase *multarum imaginum*, compare note 6, page 49.

3. *Homines praeposteri*, "preposterous beings." *Praeposterus* from *prae* and *posterus*; i. e. *Qui* prima *in* posteriori *loco ponunt*. The term *homines* is here used to denote strong contempt. Compare note 2, page 1.

4. *Nam gerere, quam fieri*, &c. After *gerere* understand *consulatum*, and after *fieri*, *consulem*. The whole clause may be rendered as follows: "For the discharge of the duties of the consulship, though posterior, in point of time, to the being elected consul, is in reality prior to it, as regards the truth itself and the advantages resulting to the state." The idea intended to be conveyed is this: In strictness of language, no one can be said to hold a station, the consulship, for example, until he is appointed to it by the suffrages of the people. And yet, if we take into consideration the faithful discharge of official duties and the advantages thence resulting to the state, we must admit that qualifications and experience are prior in the scale of importance to the mere formal appointment to office. In a word, they alone are *true* consuls, who are qualified to discharge correctly the duties of the consulship, when they present themselves before the people as candidates for that high station; and the administration of such men only will prove beneficial to the state.

5. *Generosissumum*, "the noblest."

6. *Responsuros*, &c., "what, believe you, would they answer, but that they wished the best to be their descendants." *Patribus*, in the first part of the sentence, is equivalent to *majores*, "ancestors," not *parentes*. Compare the account given by Plutarch, (*Vit. Mar.* 9.—*ed. Hutten.* vol. 3. p. 70.) Ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν παρόντων, εἰ, μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἴονται προγόνους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἂν εὔξασθαι παραπλησίους ἐκγόνους ἀπολιπεῖν, ἅτε δὴ μηδ' αὐτοὺς δι' εὐγένειαν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐνδόξους γενομένους.

7. *Ne, illi falsi sunt*, "widely indeed do they err." *Ne*, an archaism for *nae*, "truly," "certainly," &c., from the Greek *ναί*.

110 1. *Contra est.* Cortius omits *est*. *Contra* is here equivalent

to *contrarium*, and *quod contra est* may be rendered, "the reverse is the truth." Literally, "which is contrary to the truth." 110

2. *Posteris lumen est*, "diffuses a light around their posterity." *Lux*, properly speaking, is the light itself; *lumen*, the body which imparts the light.

3. *Sed, in maxumo vestro beneficio*, &c. "But since, amid the ample favours which you have conferred upon me, they every where attack me and you with revilings, I did not feel inclined to remain silent, lest any one might construe my forbearance into a consciousness of guilt."

4. *Ex animi sententia*, "as I am well persuaded."

5. *Quippe vera*, &c., "since a true one must necessarily speak well of me: my life and character refute one that is false."

6. *Hastas, vexillum*, &c. These were among the rewards of bravery bestowed by the Roman commanders on such as had distinguished themselves. The *hasta* was a spear without any iron on it, and hence was called *hasta pura*. The *vexillum* was a streamer on the end of a lance or spear, of different colours, with or without embroidery. The *phalerae* were trappings or ornaments for horses, and also for men, worn commonly on the breast.

7. *Relicta—illa—quae*. These are plurals, referring to *imagines et nobilitas*. In translating, say "things, not left to me by inheritance," &c.

8. *Non sunt composita*, &c. "My language (they say) is devoid of elegance; for that I care little."

9. *Illis artificio*, &c., "they have need of studied expressions, that they may conceal their disgraceful deeds beneath a specious covering of words." Understand *sermonis* after *artificio*.

10. *Neque litteras Graecas didici*, &c. "Nor have I learned the language of Greece. I felt little inclination to learn it, since it has proved of no advantage, to those who are its teachers, in making them braver men." Alluding to the subjugation of Greece by the Romans. "Marius," observes Plutarch, "neither learned to read Greek, nor would ever make use of

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110 that language upon any serious occasion: thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning a language of which the teachers were slaves. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then immediately departed." Plutarch justly ascribes to this neglect of the softening qualities of literary pursuits, the excesses which stained the character of Marius. Ὥσπερ οὖν Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτέρῳ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἦθος εἶναι, πολλάκις εἰώθει λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων· Ὦ μακάριε Ξενόκρατες, θῦε ταῖς Χάρισιν· οὕτως εἴ τις ἔπεισε Μάριον θύειν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς Μούσαις καὶ Χάρισιν, οὐκ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ πολιτείαις ἀμορφοτάτην ἐπέθηκε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἀώρου, καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἀπαρηγορήτων, εἰς ὠμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας ἐξοκείλας. *Plut. Vit. Mar.* c. 2.—*ed. Hutten.* vol. 3, p. 62.

111 1. *Praesidia agitare*, "to guard." "*Praesidium agitare*," observes Cortius, "*nihil aliud est quam praesidio esse vel frumentantibus, vel impedimentis, vel urbi oppugnatae.*"

2. *Neque illos arte colam*, &c., "nor will I treat them with severity of discipline, myself with indulgence."

3. *Hoc est utile*, &c. "This is an exercise of authority productive of benefit to the state; this, such as one citizen should put in practice towards another." In explanation of the peculiar meaning of *civile* in this passage, compare Livy 6. 40. "*Sermo est minime cililis;*" and Crevier's note. "*Sermo est qui minime deceat cives, memores se cum civibus agere, qui pari jure libertatis fruantur, in quos minime liceat imperioso genere sermonis uti.*"

4. *Tute.* The pronoun. "When you yourself live in luxurious indulgence, to compel your army to the performance of their duty by severity of punishment, this is to be a tyrant, not a commander." With *esse* understand *te*, so that *dominum* and *imperatorem* may be accusatives after the verb.

5. *Quia parum scite*, &c., "because I furnish out an entertainment with little elegance, and keep no buffoon nor cook of higher price than my steward: charges which I am perfect

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ly willing to admit." The term *histrio*, which here denotes 111
a buffoon kept for the amusement of the company, is a general appellation, among other Roman writers, for an actor. Livy makes the word of Etrurian origin. "*Quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum.*" *Liv.* 7. 2. Festus is undoubtedly wrong in supposing that they were so called because they came originally from Histria. "*Histriones dicti quod primum ex Histria venerint.*" In relation to the inroads of luxury among the Romans, compare Livy, 39. 6. "*Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico (Manlii Vulsonis, A. U. C.* 568.) *invecta in urbem est. Ii primum lectos aeratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quae tum magnificae supellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos, Romam advexerunt. Tum psaltriae sambucistriaeque, et convivalia* ludionum *oblectamenta addita epulis. Epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu majore apparari coeptae. Tum* coquus, *vilissimum antiquis mancipium, et aestimatione et usu in pretio esse; et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta. Vix enim illa, quae tum conspiciebantur, semina erant futurae luxuriae.*"

6. *Sanctis viris*, "men of the purest characters." "*Sanctus dicitur vir*," observes Burnouf, "*in omni virtutum genere perfectus et absolutus.*"

7. *Munditias*, "effeminate indulgences."

8. *Ament, potent*, "let them indulge in licentious gratifications, in the pleasures of the table." Compare note 22, page 7. Conspiracy of Catiline.

1. *Avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam.* By these three words 112
three commanders are designated. *Avaritia* refers to Bestia, *imperitia* to Albinus, and *superbia* to Metellus.

2. *Militaris aetas.* The age for military service was, as has already been stated, from 17 to 46 and upwards.

3. *Ex classibus.* By the institution of Servius Tullius, the Roman people were divided into six classes, according to the valuation of their property. The richest were placed in the first class, from which there was a regular progression, as respected wealth and dignity, down to the lowest or sixth class. The members of this class formed the great bulk of poorer ci-

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112 tizens, and were denominated *capite censi*, because having no fortune, but being "rated by the head." At first, none of the lowest class were enlisted as soldiers, except in dangerous emergencies. The alteration introduced by Marius may be regarded as one of the chief causes of the ruin of the republic.

4. *Capite censos plerosque*, "principally from the poorest citizens." Compare preceding note.

5. *Bonorum*, "of the better class." *Boni* is here equivalent to *ditiores*.

6. *Auctus*. Understand *honore*; "elevated to office."

7. *Cum pretio*, "if attended with profit to themselves."

113 1. *Ceterum alia levia*, &c. Cortius conjectures that Sallust wrote, *proelia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere*. This certainly would present a better meaning than the present text. The policy of Marius was to fight many, but slight, battles, that his new levies might become inured, at less risk, to the attacks of the enemy.

2. *Divorsi*, "separating."

3. *Laetissumis animis excipitur*, "is received with the most joyful feelings." Metellus was afterwards honoured with a triumph and the surname of Numidicus. His subsequent history may be briefly told. Saturninus, a tribune of the commons, had proposed an Agrarian law, in which there was a clause expressly providing "that the senate should come and swear, in full assembly, to confirm whatever the people should decree, and not oppose them in any thing." Metellus, notwithstanding the solicitations of his friends, and the severe penalties annexed to a non-compliance, refused to take the oath. Saturninus then caused a decree to be made that the consuls should declare Metellus a person interdicted the use of fire and water; or, in other words, pass sentence of exile against him. All this was brought about by the instigation of Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship. Metellus retired to Rhodes, where he was received with the highest distinction. Not long after he was recalled by public edict, a measure which Marius endeavoured, but without success, to oppose. Plutarch, in his life of Marius, speaks of a life of Metellus

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which he had written, (if indeed the expression ἐν τοῖς περὶ 113
ἐκείνου γραφομένοις is to be so rendered here, and does not refer to a biography by some other writer.) This life has not come down to us. *Plut. Vit. Mar. c.* 29—*ed. Hutten.* vol. 3, p. 105.

4. *Armis exuerat*, "had stripped of his arms;" i. e. had compelled to fly with the loss of his arms.

5. *Belli patrandi*, "calculated to bring the war to a close." Compare note 3, page 5. Conspiracy of Catiline.

6. *Pro hostibus*, &c., "favourable to the enemy, and most disadvantageous to himself."

1. *Gravior.* Cortius reads *gravius*. For the meaning of *ac-* 114
*cideret*, compare note 8, page 128.

2. *Majora et aspera.* The common editions insert *magis* before *aspera.* Cortius, however, clearly proves, by examples adduced, that the word *majora* involves also the comparative of the adjective which follows, and which stands, therefore, in the positive form.

3. *Hercules Libys.* Cicero (N. D. 3. 16.) makes mention of six different individuals who bore the name of Hercules. He is silent, however, respecting a Libyan Hercules, unless the one whom he mentions second in order, as born of the Nile, and surnamed Aegyptius, be the same. In truth, however, the history of Hercules is a mere fable. Hercules is the sun, and his twelve labours have a direct reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. (Compare *Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes,* vol. 1, p. 1—10. and vol. 2, p. 150. seqq. ed. 1822, and also *Constant, De la Religion,* vol. 2, p. 414.) Creuzer has discovered some very striking points of resemblanee between Hercules, Diemschid, and Mithras. Compare *Creuzer's Symbolik,* trad. par Guigniaut, p. 203, with the note of the translator, and vol. 2, p. 252—255, 274—277, of the German work.

4. *Immunes*, "free from all taxes."——*levi imperio*, "under a mild government."

5. *Jugi aqua*, "unfailing spring of water."

6. *Cetera.* Understand *aqua*: "what they used besides was rain-water."——*Quae procul a mari*, &c. Cortius reads *qui* and *agebant*, comparing the use of the masculine form *qui*, af-

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114 ter *Africa* to the construction *pars qui*, &c., so common in Sallust. Our reading is that of the Bipont edition, and appears decidedly preferable. As *Africa*, in this passage, denotes the inhabitants of the country, there is little, if any, harshness in reading *quae* . . . . *agebat*, scil. *se;* more especially in such a writer as Sallust. The use of *agebat*, however, may be defended on much better grounds; for we have a similar usage of the verb *agitat* in Sallust himself. The passage occurs in the third book of the Fragments, towards the conclusion of Pompey's letter to the senate, and is as follows: "*Gallia superiore anno Metelli exercitum stipendio frumentoque aluit: et nunc malis fructibus ipsa vix agitat.*"

7. *Salem.* *Sal* is found in the singular also as a neuter. The plural *sales* is masculine, and signifies *witticisms*, &c. Compare the remarks of Crombie on the meaning of this term. *Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 39. seqq. 3d ed.

115 1. *Arvo.* "Agriculture."

2. *Pro rei copia.* "considering all circumstances."

3. *Laris.* It has been disputed whether this be the genitive singular or accusative plural. Cortius is in favour of the latter, and it would seem correctly. The Itinerary of Antoninus has *Laribus*, and *a Laribus* occurs in St. Augustine.

4. *Se praedabundum*, &c. The same in effect as, "*se nunc, priusquam sequatur, praedaturum; tum vero, praeda facta, eodem venturum.*" Understand *dicit.*

5. *Egrederentur.* Understand *castris.*

6. *Res trepidae*, "the confusion into which they were thrown."

116 1. *Coërcitum*, "capable of being kept in subjection."

2. *Omnia non bene*, &c. Cortius omits from *modo* to *data*, both inclusive. We have preferred the Bipont text.

3. *Inter ceteram planitiem*, "in the middle of a plain." There was only a single mountain; the rest was a plain.

4. *Omnis.* Some editions have *omnia*, with *quod ad* or *secundum*, according to the common grammars, understood. By this reading *natura* will still be in the ablative.

5. *Importunus*, "unfit for." Compare Silius Italicus, 3. 540

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" *Importuna locorum;*" i. e. *non apta itineri,* " unfit for travelling." 116

1. *Administrare,* " to labour." 117

2. *Aestuans,* " in the greatest perplexity."

3. *Avorsum proeliantibus,* "on the opposite side to that where the two parties were contending."

4. *Solitudinem intellexit,* " he perceived that he was completely alone." He saw no traces of any human being.

5. *More humani ingenii.* Some editions read *more humanae cupidinis ignara visundi animum vertit,* of which Cortius remarks, that it is " *contra omnes omnino MSS. et veteres editiones.*"

6. *Paullulum modo prona,* " bending a little downwards at first."

7. *Castelli planitiem perscribit,* "he reconnoitres the platform of the fortress."

8. *Eadem.* Understand *via.* In some editions *eodem,* (scil. *modo.*)

9. *Paullum arrectus,* "somewhat aroused." The distinction between *parum* and *paullum* should be noted by the student. *Parum,* " little," is opposed to " much ;" *paullum,* " a little," is opposed to " not none," or " some." Thus *parum pecuniae,* " little money ;" but *paullum pecuniae,* " a little money." It is to be observed, however, that *paullum* is often used in the sense of *parum,* but the latter is never employed for the former. Crombie's Gymnasium, vol. 2, p. 434. 3d ed.

1. *Duce,* " their guide," the Ligurian. 118

2. *Prospectus,* " the view in front," or " before them."

3. *Ponderis gratia,* " on account of their lightness." Understand *levioris.*

4. *Dubia nisu,* " dangerous to be attempted." *Nisu* is the old dative.

5. *Potissumus tentare,* " he tried first of all." In some editions *potissumum,* which is the more usual form.

6. *Digrediens,* " stepping aside."

7. *Testudine acta succedere,* "having formed the testudo, advanced to the walls." The soldiers formed the testudo by joining their shields over their heads and on their sides, so as to

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118 resemble the shell of a tortoise, (*testudo.*) This was done as a defence against the missiles of the enemy. Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* 3. 7. 28—*ed. Havercamp.* vol. 2, p. 240.) makes mention of his having caused *boiling oil* to be poured upon a testudo of Roman soldiers, when attacking the walls of Jotapata. The expedient proved a most successful one.

119 1. *Quos.* Referring, by synesis, to *equitatus*. Some editions have *quod*.

2. *Sisenna.* "L. Cornelius Sisenna was an historian of the Cornelian family, and descended from that Sisenna who was praetor A. U. C. 570. In his youth he practised as an orator, and is characterized by Cicero as a man of learning and wit, but of no great industry or knowledge in business. In more advanced life he was Praetor of Achaia, and a friend of Atticus. Vossius says his history commenced after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, and ended with the wars of Marius and Sylla. Now, it is possible that he may have given some sketch of Roman affairs from the burning of the city by the Gauls, but it is evident he had touched slightly on these early portions of the history: for though his work consisted of twenty, or, according to others, of twenty-two, books, it appears from a fragment of the second, which is still preserved, that he had there advanced in his narrative as far as the Social war, which broke out in the year 663. The greater part, therefore, was probably devoted to the history of the civil wars of Marius: and indeed Velleius Paterculus calls his work *Opus Belli Civilis Sullani.* The great defect of his history consisted, it is said, in its not being written with sufficient political freedom, at least concerning the character and conduct of Sylla, which is regretted by Sallust, in a passage bearing ample testimony to the merits of Sisenna in other particulars. Cicero, while he admits his superiority over his predecessors, adds, that he was far from perfection, and complains that there was something puerile in his Annals, as if he had studied none of the Greek historians but Clitarchus. (*Cic. de Leg.* 1. 2.) The fragments which remain of his history are more numerous than those of any old Latin annalist, being about 150; but they are also shorter and more unconnected. Indeed, there are scarcely

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two sentences any where joined together." *Dunlop's Roman* 119 *Literature*, vol. 2, p. 133.

3. *Otio luxurioso*, "of debauched habits, when unoccupied with business." He kept company, according to Plutarch, with mimics, jesters, &c., and went with them to every excess of licentiousness and riot; and, though at other times a man of business, he would change instantaneously whenever he had company, and begin a carousal.

4. *Nisi quod*, &c., "except that he might have had more regard for his own character in matrimonial affairs." Sylla, according to Plutarch, was five times married; but, during all these unions, still indulged in libidinous attachments. On dedicating the tenth of his substance to Hercules, he gave a magnificent entertainment to the people. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, his fourth wife, Metella, sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, and to have his house defiled with mourning, (an artifice, probably, of his own,) he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while the breath was still in her body. A few months afterwards, he espoused Valeria, the sister of Hortensius the orator, who had managed to attract his attention in the theatre, by her personal beauty and artful behaviour. Yet, according to Plutarch, though she was a female of great accomplishments and respectability, he still continued his intercourse with actresses and female musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a company of buffoons. A loathsome disease soon after put a period to his existence.

5. *Amicitia facilis.* Equivalent to *facile sibi amicos parans.*

6. *Ad simulanda negotia*, &c., "the depth of his mind was incredible for concealing from others his secret plans."

7. *Ante civilem victoriam*, "previous to his success in the civil wars." The remarkable success which accompanied so many of the operations of Sylla, and on account of which he assumed the title of *Felix*, is alluded to in a very interesting manner by Plutarch, in his life of that commander. "It not only gave him pleasure," observes his biographer, "to hear his success imputed to Fortune, but he encouraged the

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119 opinion, thinking it added an air of grandeur, and even of divinity, to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real persuasion of its truth, we cannot affirm. He writes, however, in his commentaries, 'that his enterprises executed on a sudden, and in a manner different from what he had intended, always succeeded the best. It is plain, likewise, from his saying, that he was born rather for fortune than for war; that he attributed more to luck than to valour."

8. *Sollertissumus omnium,* "the most accomplished soldier of all."

120 1. *Manu,* "in action."

2. *Dubium belli atque pacis,* &c., "that he, undecided what course to pursue, was weighing the arguments for war and for peace."

3. *Vix decima,* &c. *Die* is here the old genitive. Aulus Gellius (9. 14.) makes mention of this very passage of Sallust, and considers *die* a genitive, not an ablative. It would appear from his remarks that some of his contemporaries made *die* equivalent to *ex die.*

4. *Nullo.* The old dative. The old writers, whom Sallust here imitates, sometimes declined such adjectives as *nullus, solus, alter,* &c., regularly. Compare *Ruddimann Instit. L. G.* vol. 1, p. 53. *ed Stalbaum.*

5. *Sarcinas colligere.* All the baggage was collected into one place before an engagement.

6. *Quivit.* "There is a delicate difference," observes Dumesnil, "between *posse* and *quire;* which is this: *Possum* expresses the power resulting from strength and consequence, offices, authority, &c. *Queo* expresses mere possibility, under existing circumstances. Thus, we cannot say *quire plurimum,* nor *quoad queo,* but *possum plurimum* and *quoad possum.* So again, *Non queo reliqua scribere, tanta vis lacrymarum est.* (*Cic*) Here *possum* would have been too strong."

7. *Equites, pedites.* Alluding both to the Romans and the Numidians.

121 1. *Et ob ea,* &c., "and on this account, (i. e. because the veterans were joined with the new soldiers,) more familiar

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with warfare." We have retained the reading and given the explanation of Cortius. Although the best that can be offered, it is far from satisfactory. 121

2. *Manu consulere militibus*, "aided his soldiers by taking a personal share in the fight."

3. *Noctem pro se rati*, "having imagined that the night would be in their favour."

4. *Ex copia rerum*, &c., "he forms a plan adapted to the nature of the case.

5. *Pauco munimento*, &c. The singular of *paucus* is of rare occurrence. We meet with it in Horace, A. P. 203: "*foramine pauco*," and in Aul. Gellius, 20. 1. "*injurias pauco aere diluere*." Cortius reads *pauca munimento quaerebat*.

6. *Ipsi duces*. Jugurtha and Bocchus.——*quia non fugerant*. In some editions *quod non fugere . . . . ac pro*, &c. Cortius reads *fugerent*.

7. *Magnoque hortamento erant*. The Bipont text omits the connective.

1. *Vigiles*. The common text has *vectigales*, for which Cortius very judiciously conjectures *vigiles*. The common reading is found in all the MSS. 122

2. *Formido*. Some editions have *formidine*.

3. *In hiberna*. Understand *proficiscitur*. A similar ellipsis occurs in Livy, 41. 3. "*Tum demum nuncius ad tertiam legionem revocandam et Gallorum praesidium*." Understand *missus est:* and so also Florus, 3. 10. "*Reversus igitur in Galliam classe majore auctisque admodum copiis in eumdem rursus oceanum.* Understand *it*.

4. *Quadrato agmine*. The *agmen quadratum* of the Romans was a right-angled parallelogram, not a square. Compare the words of Salmasius, (*de Re Mil. Rom.* c. 10. p. 103. *edit. Ludg.* 1657.) "*Quadratum agmen non dicitur, cujus latitudo aequalis sit in omnes adspectus longitudine; sed quod frontem habet recta linea exaequatam et ad extremitates angulos rectos.*" So also Guischard (*Memoires crit. et histor. sur les antiquités militaires*, vol. 1, p. 195.) "*La figure ressembloit à une parallelogramme quelconque à angles droits.*"

5. *Praeterea cohortes*, &c. This and the preceding clause

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122 are to be understood as follows: "*Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos curabat; curabat vero in sinistra A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis; praeterea curabat idem Manlius cohortes Ligurum.*" The verb will thus be understood twice without an accusative, and once expressed with that case.

6. *Minume cari*, "whose lives were least valued." In some editions these words do not appear.

7. *Quasi nullo imposito*, "as if no one were placed over them by him."

8. *Merentis*, "as each deserved commendation or blame."

9. *Neque secus*, &c., "nor was he less careful in fortifying his camp, than he had been in prosecuting his march."

10. *Non diffidens*, &c., "not so much from any distrust on his part that the orders he had given would not be obeyed, as," &c. Cortius reads *non diffidentia futuri quae*, &c., and completes the sentence thus: *non diffidentia futuri ejus omnis quae*, &c., making *quae* plural, on account of the plural import of *omnis*. Few, we conceive, will approve of such an explanation. *Futuri* must either be changed to *futurorum*, or *quae* to *quod*, or else the reading we have adopted must be regarded as the simplest and the best.

11. *Uti militibus*, &c., "that their toils, being equally participated in by their commander, might be cheerfully endured by the soldiers at large." We have here another instance of the Greek construction mentioned in note 11, page 100.

123 1. *Malo*, "by punishment."

2. *Nisi tamen*, &c. Equivalent to *Sed tamen*. The reference is to Marius. Compare Burnouf, (*ad loc.*) "*Sive per ambitionem, sive consuetudinis causa hoc faceret, id utique certum est, publicae utilitati et gloriae non minus ab illo consultum fuisse quam si saevissumum imperium in milites exercuisset.*"

3. *Citi*, "at full speed." Equivalent to *citato cursu*.

4. *Aeque*. Cortius joins this adverb to *ab tergo*, and makes the whole phrase equivalent to "directly in the rear." The explanation of the Bipont editor appears much happier: "*ex quadruplici agmine certe unum, quodcunque esset.*" In accordance with this, the expression *aeque aliquos* may be rendered, "that some of them certainly, no matter which."

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5. *Ad pedites.* Cortius maintains that the reference is here 123
not to the Roman infantry, but to those which Volux had brought, and with which Bocchus had attacked the Roman rear. The opposite opinion appears to be the true one; especially as the words *ibi Latine* follow.

6. *Satis impigre.* Equivalent to *satis celeriter,* "with great quickness."

7. *Atrocitate rei,* "with the dreadful nature of the thing.' The meaning is this: The Romans were thrown into alarm, not so much from any confidence which they placed in the words of Jugurtha, as from the reflection that there was indeed a possibility of their favourite commander losing his life in the action.

8. *Perculsos.* Some editions add *Romanos.*

1. *Vitabundus,* "by making great exertions to escape." 124

2. *Sequi,* &c. A beautiful specimen of the figure Asyndeton, in imitation, very probably, of the celebrated passage in Xenophon, (*Ages.* 2. 12.) praised by Longinus, § 19. Συμβαλόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον.

3. *Niti modo,* "they merely made an effort to rise."

4. *Visus.* A noun of the fourth declension. Render *qua visus erat,* "as far as the eye could reach."

5. *Postea loci.* For *postea.* This phraseology has already been alluded to.

6. *Post diem quintum quam,* &c., "on the fifth day after the barbarians had met with their second defeat." The Latin language admits several variations of this construction. Thus we may either adopt the form used in the text, or *quinto die postquam pugnaverant,* or *quinque diebus postquam pugnaverant,* or *post dies quintos quam pugnaverant;* or with ablative alone, omitting *post, die quinto quam pugnaverant.* The anomalous appearance of *post diem quintum quam,* &c., and some other of the phrases just quoted, arose, according to Zumpt, from a transposing of the preposition. Having once written *post die quinto quam,* they would be easily led to change *die quinto* into *diem quintum,* as if it had been governed by *post.* Compare note 3, page 18, Conspiracy of Catiline.

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124 7. *Persequi.* A Hellenism for *persequendi.* Compare Scheller L. G. vol. 2, p. 202. Walker's transl.

8. *Principio.* Cortius reads *jam inopi visum*, omitting *a principio reipublicae.* The remark of the Bipont editor on this emendation is perfectly conclusive: "*Sed inopum non foret, quaerere servos populos; neque iis facile, amicos invenire, nodum quod ea Sulla parum ex dignitate Romana dixisset.*"

125 1. *Gratia par*, &c., "while you will enjoy the same high estimation with us, as if we were your immediate neighbours." Equivalent to *in eodem honoris et gratiae loco apud nos eris.*

2. *Parentes*, "subjects."

3. *Perpessus es.* In some editions *perpessus esses*, an inferior reading.

4. *Cui scilicet placuit*, &c. We have here given the reading of the Aldine edition. Cortius has *placuisse*, and makes the infinitive depend on *scilicet*, (i. e. *scire licet.*)

5. *Unde vi Jugurtham expulerat*, &c. Understand *Marius* as the nominative to *expulerat*, and refer *jure belli suam factam* to Bocchus. The expression *jure belli*, as used by the latter, has relation to the agreement which Jugurtha made with Bocchus, that, if he would take up arms, and aid him in expelling the Romans from Numidia, he would give him the third part of that country. Bocchus now pretends that the moment he took up arms his right to this part became absolute. Hence the peculiar meaning of *jus belli* in this passage, differing somewhat from its more usual acceptation. Burnouf and others, however, read *expulerit*, referring, of course, to Bocchus; and suppose that the monarch here utters an intentional falsehood, in asserting that he had driven Jugurtha from this third part of of Numidia, but a falsehood which the Romans had not the means of detecting.

6. *Copia facta.* Understand *mittendi legatos*: "when an opportunity of sending embassadors offered."

7. *Venerant.* For *evenerant*, the simple for the compound. Some editions exhibit the latter.

126 1. *Sine decore*, "without any ensigns of dignity." Without any badges of their commission as plenipotentiaries.

2. *Vanis hostibus*, "faithless enemies."

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3. *Adcurate ac liberaliter*, "in a respectful and generous manner." 126

4. *Largitio*, "liberality, with a view to corruption."

5. *In benignitate habebantur*, "were ascribed to a generous impulse."

6. *Benevolentiae*, "calculated to conciliate his good will." Compare, in reference to this construction, note 3, page 5, Conspiracy of Catiline.

7. *Ibi infecto*. Cortius and others read *infecto, quo intenderat, negotio*, and makes it equivalent to *infecto negotio, quo confecto. redire intenderat*. This is altogether inferior to the lection of our text. "*Quis talia ferat?*" observes the Bipont editor, in commenting on the interpretation of Cortius, "*et quid opus dicere, Marium, post rem confectam, in hiberna redire voluisse?*" In our reading, *ibi* refers to the *turris regia* mentioned in the previous chapter.

8. *Legatis potestas*, &c. "Permission to go to Rome is granted the embassadors by the consul."

9. *Ea*. Referring both to *potestas eundi* and to *induciae*.

10. *Mutant*, "are changing." Understand *sese*.

11. *Studium*, "courtesy."

12. *Deprecati sunt*. Understand *confitentes* or *dicentes*, and render the whole clause, "after they had deprecated the resentment of the Romans, by confessing that their monarch," &c.

1. *Cujus arbitratu*. Cortius makes this equivalent to *quo praesente et voluntatem Populi Romani observante*. It may be simply rendered, "by whose intervention." The more common meaning of the phrase is, "under whose direction, or guidance." 127

2. *Balearium*. The Romans obtained their slingers from Achaia, and from the Balearic isles, Majorca and Minorca, the inhabitants of which were remarkable for their dexterity in the use of the sling, having been trained to this exercise from their infancy.

3. *Sagittarii et cohors Peligna*. Understand *erant*, or *profecti sunt cum eo*. The Romans obtained their best archers from Crete and Arabia.——*Peligna*. The Peligni were a people of

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127 Italy, of Sabine descent, according to Ovid, though Festus derives their origin from Illyria. Their territory lay to the east of that of the Marsi. The Peligni were not distinguished from the other tribes, by which they were surrounded, by their political importance, or the extent of their country; but they derive some consideration in history, from the circumstance of their chief city having been selected by the allies in the Social war as the seat of the new empire. Had their plans succeeded, and had Rome fallen beneath the efforts of the coalition, Corfinium would have become the capital of Italy, and, perhaps, of the world. *Cramer's Description of Ancient Italy* vol. 1, p. 331.——*cum velitaribus armis,* "armed like Velites." The Velites or light troops were equipped with bows, slings, seven javelins or spears, with slender points like arrows, so that, when thrown, they bent, and could not easily be returned by the enemy; a Spanish sword, having both edge and point; a round buckler, *(parma,)* about three feet in diameter, made of wood and covered with leather; and a helmet or casque for the head, generally made of the skin of some wild beast, to appear the more terrible.

4. *Temere et effuse,* "in a disorderly and scattered manner."

5. *Hostilem metum,* "apprehension as of an enemy."

6. *Expedire.* Understand *ad pugnam*; "got ready for battle." The full expression occurs in Livy, (38. 21.) "*Quos ubi Romani viderunt, expediunt sese ad pugnam.*" The phrase properly alludes to the disencumbering themselves of baggage, the amount of which, carried by them on the present occasion, was trifling, and therefore allowed a speedier preparation for the fight.

7. *Tentare,* "tried."——*intendere.* This is commonly rendered "they bent their bows," with an ellipsis of *arcus.* Such an explanation, however, is decidedly pleonastic, since *arma atque tela tentare* precedes. The true meaning is, "directed his whole attention to the approaching engagement."

8. *Quietam.* The phrase *rem quietam (esse)* may be rendered, "that there was nothing to fear," or "that all was well."

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9. *Incerto voltu*, "with a troubled look." Some editions in- 127
sert after these words *pavens*, but this is a mere pleonasm, since the same idea is expressed by *incerto voltu*. Compare Cicero, (*pro Cluent.* 19.) "*Timor ejus, perturbatio, suspensus incertusque vultus, crebra coloris mutatio*," &c.

10. *Animo feroci*, "with stern resolution."

11. *Eodem*. Referring to Volux.

1. *Coenatos esse*, "to have their evening repast over." 128
Some neuter verbs have participles which are passive in form, but active in signification; as, *coenatus*, "one who has supped;" *pransus*, "one who has dined;" *juratus*, "one who has sworn," &c. The Roman soldiers took food twice a day, at dinner and supper. The former was a slight meal, which they commonly took standing. They indulged themselves a little more at supper.

2. *Prima vigilia*. The Romans, as has been observed in a previous note, divided the night into four watches of three hours each. The first watch commenced at sun-set.

3. *Manu vindicandum*, "that immediate vengeance should be taken."

4. *Nudum et caecum corpus*, "that part of the body which has no shield to protect it, and no eyes by which danger may be avoided;" i. e. a defenceless and blind back. Compare Xenophon Cyrop. 3. 3. Μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ, κρατεῖν βουλομένους, τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἄοπλα, καὶ ἄχειρα, ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.

5. *Quoniam hostilia faceret*, "since he was acting the part of an enemy."

6. *Ceterum*, &c. "Besides, since he (Jugurtha) had not a large force with him, and his hopes and resources depended upon his (Volux's) father, that he (Jugurtha) would not dare to do any thing openly, while he himself (Volux), the son, was present as a witness of his conduct."

7. *Per media ejus castra*. Cortius thinks the meaning would be improved if *media* were omitted, and *prae* rendered by *praeter*. We cannot agree with him. Volux had stated, that Jugurtha would not dare to do any thing openly if he were present: in confirmation of this, he proposes that they march

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128 boldly through his very encampment. Jugurtha probably had encamped his forces in two divisions, or else in scattered order.

8. *Acciderant.* Some editions have *accesserant.* Cortius, however, successfully defends the lection we have given in the text, and makes it signify "they had come;" for *accido* frequently has this meaning when any person or thing chances to arrive unexpectedly. Compare Livy, (32. 30.) "*Civitati fama incerta accidit;*" and Quintus Curtius, (4. 4. 6.) "*Alexander classem litori, e quo fremitus acciderat, admovit.*" So also Tacitus, (*Hist.* 4. 29. 4.) "*Unde clamor acciderat;*" and our own author, chapter 88 of this narrative, "*quo improvisus gravior accideret.*"

129 1. *Orator,* "as his embassador," or "agent." Compare Livy, (30. 16.) "*Jam nullo auctore belli ultra audito, oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt.*" Observe also the change of construction in our author; "*praemissus orator, et* (praemissus) *speculatum.*"

2. *Quem Bocchus,* &c. Cortius inserts *Romanis* after *fidum.* The reading we have adopted is preferable, according to which *fidum* signifies "worthy of reliance," simply, without any particular reference. Bocchus had not been long acquainted with the Romans, and therefore *fidum Romanis* seems too harsh.

3. *Consulta sese omnia,* &c., "that he was keeping every subject of consultation undetermined, until he could consider them in conjunction with him."

4. *Cautum esse,* &c. Cortius reads *quo res,* &c., omitting *cautum esse,* which, according to him, may be understood. Others understand *illum accitum,* or *advocatum.* According to our reading, *cautum esse* will refer to Dabar, and it will be the same as *Dabarem ipsum providum tutumque esse quo,* &c.

5. *Punica fide,* "with a treacherous intent." The Roman writers used the expression *Punica fides* to denote bad faith, in allusion to the frequent violation of compacts which were charged against the Carthaginians by their haughty rivals The Carthaginians might have returned the compliment with

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out any great violation of the truth. *Attica fides* was a proverbial expression, on the other hand, to indicate good faith. Compare Velleius Paterculus, (2. 23. 4.) "*Adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper, et in omni re, quidquid sincera fide gereretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent.*" Some writers extend this character for good faith to the whole nation, and make *Graeca fides* and *Attica fides* synonymous. This is altogether incorrect. The true explanation is given by Junius, (*Adagia Veterum*, p. 577.) "*Graeca fides pro dubia et vana accipitur, haud pro certa: quippe quae nulla prorsus esset, nisi praesente pecunia oculitus creditori satisdaretur. Quod ex Plauto, in Asinaria, manifestum fit, ubi ait: Cetera quaeque volumus uti, Graeca mercamur fide: et ostendit hoc clarissime Polybius, historiae lib. 6. his verbis:* παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐὰν τάλαντον μόνον πιστευθῶσιν, ἀντιγραφεῖς ἔχοντες δέκα, καὶ σφραγῖδας τοσαύτας, καὶ μάρτυρας διπλασίους, οὐ δύνανται τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν. 129

6. *Adtinuisse*, "kept amused."

7. *In sua castra.* The reference here is to Sylla and Bocchus, not to Sylla and Aspar as Cortius maintains. "*Sulla,*" observes Burnouf, "*quamvis paucos milites haberet, eos videlicet alicubi habere necesse fuit. Ubi autem si non in castris? Et Bocchus, quum bellum gereret, cur non et ipse castra in proprio regno habuisset?*" In addition to this it may be observed, that Aspar on the very next day was still at the court of Bocchus, which could not possibly have been the case if he had set out the day previous for the camp of Jugurtha, since it took many days subsequently for him to go and come: "*properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum.*" ch. 112.

8. *Internuncius*, "as a mutual adviser."

9. *Sanctus vir*, &c., "a man of strict integrity, and acceptable to both."

10. *Et omnium*, &c. Cortius reads *et omnium quos novi*, omitting *opulentissimus*. Ours is the Aldine lection.

1. *Imminutum.* The Bipont edition has *immutatum.* Our reading is a much stronger one. 130

2. *Fuerit mihi pretium*, &c., "let it have been my good lot to have stood in need, at length, of your friendship."

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130 3. *Adeo*, "accordingly."

4. *Integra*, "in full force." The idea intended to be conveyed is, that the favour alluded to by the monarch shall always remain undiminished in value in his eyes.

5. *Cujus curator*, "as whose agent," or, "for the purpose of attending to whose interests."

6. *Factum . . . volui*. Denoting more completeness of action than *facere volui*.

7. *Egrediar*. Equivalent to *transgrediar*. Some verbs, compounded of prepositions that govern an ablative case, take an accusative. Thus, beside the example in the text, we have in Livy *egredi urbem*, and in other writers *excedere urbem, coire societatem*, &c. Compare *Zumpt, L. G.* p. 256. 2d ed. *Kenrick's transl.*

8. *Praeterea*, &c. Is not this a hint on the part of Bocchus, that he may, perhaps, be found willing to deliver up Jugurtha?

9. *Quod polliceatur*, "as regards any promises which he may make."

10. *Id adeo in promtu esse*, &c., "that this, indeed, was an easy matter, since he had Jugurtha in his power."

11. *Negitare*, "resolutely denied," or, perhaps, "made a great show of denial."

12. *Fluxa fide usus*, "if he acted with bad faith towards Jugurtha."——*averteret*, "he might alienate."

13. *Leniter*. Some editions read *lenitur*, "his resolution is overcome." The lection we have adopted, and which may be rendered "with a softened air," appears to us preferable.

131 1. *Sibi*. Understand, before this, *dicit*, or some equivalent term.

2. *Frustra fuisse*, "had been without any effect."

3. *Ceterum*, &c. "That, however, if he wished to consult for both their interests, and to have a firm peace," &c.

4. *Non sua ignavia*, "by reason of no cowardice on his part." After *relictum iri* understand *ibi*.

5. *Dolo, an vere*, "treacherously, or sincerely."

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6. *Ipsae sibi advorsae,* "clash with one another." 131

7. *Benigne habere,* "treated them kindly."

8. *Remotis.* Referring to *amicis.* Some editions have *remotis celeris.*

9. *Voltu corporis,* &c., "the movements of his body, varying with the purposes of his soul." *Voltus* is here used as a general term for the gestures of the body, including also the expression of the countenance. Compare chapter 34 of this narrative, *terrebat eum clamore, voltu,* &c., where the same usage occurs.

1. *Ut dictum,* "as had been agreed upon." 132

2. *Gallos.* More correctly *Germanos,* for they were the Cimbri, Teutones, and Tigurini. Compare Florus, (3. 3.) "*Cimbri, Theutoni atque Tigurini, ab extremis Galliae profugi, quum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quaerebant; exclusique Gallia et Hispania, quum in Italiam remigrarent misere legatos in castra Silani, inde ad Senatum,* &c.;" and again, "*Sed nec primum quidem impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Caepio sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi seculo contigisset.*"

3. *Illique,* &c. "Both the Romans of that day, and thence downward even to our own time."

4. *Cum Gallis,* &c. Compare Cicero (*Off.* 1. 12.) "*Cum Cimbris, ut cum inimicis gerebatur: uter esset? non, uter imperaret?*"

5. *Absens,* "though absent." This was a violation of the the law, since no person, strictly speaking, was allowed to stand candidate for the consulship, unless present at the time in Rome. The condition, however, was often violated.

6. *Kalendis Januariis.* The first of January, the day when the new consuls were inducted into office. After the solemnity of the triumph was finished, Marius, as Plutarch informs us, assembled the senate in the capitol, where, either through inadvertence, or gross insolence, he entered in his triumphal robes; but soon perceiving that the senate was offend-

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132ed, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

7. *Ea tempestate.* Emphatical. His subsequent career was ruinous to the state.

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In conclusion, it may not be improper to add a few words relative to the fate of Jugurtha. "It is said," observes Plutarch, "that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his senses. After the triumph, he was thrown into prison, where, while they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others, catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears along with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dungeon, all confused, he said with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There having struggled for six days, with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he came to such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried (we are told) in his triumph, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five of silver bullion, and of silver coin seventeen thousand and twenty-eight drachmas."

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FINIS.

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